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ABSTRACT

The selected papers presented in this document include topics on normal schools in Wisconsin and Minnesota, George S. Counts, and segregated schooling in Kansas. "Wisconsin Normal Schools and the Educational Hierarchy, 1860-1890" (J. Wasserman) describes the struggle of normal schools to be perceived as teacher training institutions rather than high schools. "Winona Normal School Student Profile, 1860-1900" (G. E. Bates, Jr.) is a preliminary report on a research project and presents the initial findings on parental occupations and social status. The first of two papers on George S. Counts, "The Political Life of George S. Counts", (W. E. Eaton) describes his political orientation, and specifically his role in the American Labor Party and the American Liberal Party. The second paper, "George S. Counts as Interpreter of Soviet Education" (G. L. Gutek) studies Counts's transformation from admirer to critic of Soviet education through the examination of his books, "The Soviet Challenge to America" (1931) and "The Challenge of Soviet Education" (1957). The final paper in the journal is "The Popular Ideology of Segregated Schooling: Attitudes toward the Education of Blacks in Kansas, 1854-1900" (J. C. Carper). This paper describes the controversy concerning education for blacks and the debate over segregated versus integrated schools. The meeting program and the Midwest History of Education Society's business meeting's minutes are included. (DJC)

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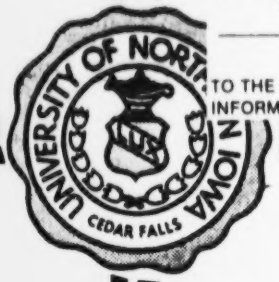

Volume 7, 1979

Contents include papers by

Jeff Wasserman
George E. Bates Jr.
William E. Eaton
Gerald L. Gutek
James Carper

also the proceedings of the Fourteenth Meeting in conjunction with the History of Education Society

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Editor's Foreward

In this our twelfth year of existence and seventh year of publication, we were again privileged to host the national meeting of the History of Education Society. William Eaton, vice president of the Midwest History of Education Society and program chairman for this event is to be congratulated for his hard work in presenting us with such a fine program. The three day meeting allowed us to spend more time together. The quality and quantity of papers, and the provocative questions raised by them left us intellectually stimulated and physically exhausted.

As there were some nineteen presentations during the course of the three day meeting, it will be impossible to reproduce all of them in this volume.

This editor will try to negotiate for those papers for publication in future editions. It is regrettable that because of contingencies all of the papers could not be reproduced from this exciting meeting. However, the papers on George S. Count, who many of us knew and had as a teacher, are published along with those papers which best represent the work of our scholars in the Midwest region. The papers concerning the Normal School movement in Wisconsin and Minnesota are included along with the paper on the integration problems in Kansas.

In conclusion, it was the pleasure of the Society to host this joint meeting, and it is an annual delight for all of us to be together to share our study in the history of education.

This editor would again like to thank all of his colleagues who have made these meetings a continually rewarding experience. Again, to our friends at Loyola University and to his own institution, the University of Northern Iowa, many thanks, for their continued substantial help in publishing the journal and giving us a chance to be a community of scholars.

Edward Rutkowski

Editor

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PART I
PAPERS

Wisconsin Normal Schools and the Educational Hierarchy, 1860 - 1890

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University of Wisconsin - Madison

The American normal school differed considerably in form from the expressed aspirations of those who lobbied for its establishment. While normal schoolmen and historians of education have traditionally emphasized the so-called "professional" nature of teacher training institutions, they have overlooked and obscured the more important functions of these institutions. In fact, the normal school's real contribution to American education had little to do with the professional education of teachers.

The founding of nineteenth-century normal schools supplied an important stimulus to the growth of post-elementary instruction. Normal schools arose mostly in regions where secondary education was either nonexistent or inaccessible. In these areas, there was support for creating public elementary schools, but little interest in extending the system by providing for the education of teachers. As one educator remarked in the centennial year, while the German idea was to "plant a teacher and a school will grow around him," the American way seemed to be "plant a school house and expect a school to grow into it."[1] Townspeople were likely to support common schools and the construction of school edifices, but less interested in hiring good teachers for them.

It is not surprising that local support for normal schools sprang from motives that were often only incidentally related to a concern for the preparation of teachers. More than any other factor, community support rallied around a demand for post-elementary education — in whatever form it could be had and paid for. Particularly in the West, but also in the East, frontier conditions shaped the normal school and retarded the development of its professional side. While the professional curriculum was relegated to a secondary place, the normal school became an institution for remedial and general academic work. In this respect, it differed only slightly from the many academies and colleges of the antebellum period. At a time when there was confusion over institutional roles and almost every school was hailed as a "people's college", the normal school radiated that "college enthusiasm" which has been described by David Potts and Robert Church.[2] They only approached normal schools in the intended sense after other public and private institutions filled the vacuum inhibiting their early growth. In the interim, they contributed greatly to the establishment of the ladder system of education that was in place by 1900.

After its birth in New England, the mother of educational innovation, it was popularized in the emerging territories of the Midwest and the South.[3] Here, the normal school exercised a great impact on educational

developments after the 1860's. At about the time its first normal schools were established, Wisconsin was largely the "educational backwater" that Massachusetts was in the 1830's when it first attempted to found a state normal school.[4] Normal schools were regarded by educators as a panacea to the ills of the common schools. They believed that the common schools could only be improved through trained teachers. Teacher preparation would include instruction in the science and art of teaching and the various subject areas. The backward condition of education, however, prevented early normal schools from doing this work; the majority of students presenting themselves for admission were deficient in preparation and incapable of pursuing higher studies.[5]

In territorial Wisconsin, teacher education was initially confined to academies and colleges. Only in 1865 did the legislature finally call upon a board of regents to found state normal schools. The regents decided to establish schools in each of the state's legislative districts, and towns were invited to submit bids for site consideration.[6] Following a heated competition among neighboring communities, the regents located the first two schools at Platteville and Whitewater. By 1900, normal schools were also built at Oshkosh, River Falls, Milwaukee, and Stevens Point.

The selection of the first two sites shows how townspeople viewed the normal school. Platteville, for example, was the home of one of Wisconsin's most successful academies. Only when the Civil War depleted its student population was the academy's future threatened. Aware of the regent's search for normal school sites, the academy's trustees voted to offer the building and grounds to the state for normal school purposes. The leading citizens of Platteville realized that a state normal school would confer the same financial and educational benefits on the town as the academy. Their beloved academy would endure, albeit in a different form. The people of Platteville were ecstatic when the plan met with regent approval.[7]

Whitewater, the second site selected, had for years attempted to attract an educational institution. Various schemes for founding an academy, a seminary, a military boarding school, a collegiate institute, a free high school, and a normal school had failed since the 1840's. In 1865, it appeared that a school of higher rank would come to Whitewater; a legislative charter for an academy was obtained, a board of trustees organized, and stocks sold. Just as success was imminent, plans for the venture were dropped and a new effort begun to secure one of the state normal schools. When the regents named Whitewater as the second site, the town fathers realized that they had their long sought after school. There would be no need to organize a public high school in Whitewater for the next twenty years.[8]

That citizens regarded an academy or high school as more important than a professional school for training teachers was apparent from the start. Cyrus Peirce, principal of the first American normal school, queried in his journal as to whether citizens really wanted a normal school.[9] Similar reservations were expressed by later normal schoolmen. They feared that, once established, the schools would be transformed in-

to something other than normal schools. Silas Chapman, Secretary of the Wisconsin Board of Normal School Regents, assured citizens that the normal schools would remain strictly professional and not "degenerate" into local institutions.[10] Chapman, like many of his predecessors, was proved wrong. People turned to normal schools for other than professional purposes.[11] Their interest was not limited to enrolling sons and daughters in a model or practice school, but in affording their children an opportunity to obtain a higher education.

Although admission requirements supported the normal school's professional goals, few students qualified for acceptance.[12] Following the example of other nineteenth-century institutions, normal schools admitted almost anyone who applied. The initial task of early normal schoolmen was to carve out a place for the institution in the community that would sustain it. While the professional or normal course was destined to lack scholars, academic departments designed to prepare students for advanced work and eventual admission into the normal department flourished. The academic or preparatory department was, after all, the reward communities expected when they bid for a normal school.[13]

Shortly after hearing of the regent's decision to locate a school in Platteville, a local paper ran an article titled "What is a Normal School?" The article, in addition to noting the normal school's professional aim, gave particular attention to the classes which would offer instruction similar to that given in any private institution.

> It will thus be seen that a normal school combines all the advantages of a 1st class private academy with those of a state educational institution. Our youth, whether they design to become teachers or not, can thus have the advantages of the oldest teachers and the best educational facilities to be procured, at a trifling cost, compared with the expenses of a 1st class private institution of learning.[14]

Another community concern was the fate of students, particularly females, who anticipated being unable to fulfill the required pledge to teach upon graduation. After consulting with a member of the Board of Regents, the *Grant County Witness*, advised all girls to enroll and not worry about the pledge since the regents promised to deal leniently with all perpetrators. In addition, the paper pointed out that the pledge could be satisfied by taking a school of one scholar.[15]

At other normal schools as well, students with no intention to teach enrolled to obtain a post-elementary education.[16] Whether at Whitewater, Oshkosh, or River Falls, the majority of students belonged to the academic department, and came from villages and farms in close proximity to the school. Difficult travel conditions and the expense of board further prevented these institutions from becoming anything more than local schools.[17] Even as some normal schools struggled to develop a professional segment, schools in rural areas found it impossible to be anything more than a local high school. It is not surprising that in 1885 a writer in the *Milwaukee Sentinel* asked the intriguing question, "Is there a normal school in Wisconsin?" Its author insisted that the exist-

ing normal schools differed in no essential respect from high schools.[18] It would be left to urban Milwaukee, with a network of schools able to prepare students for advanced work, to open what was probably the first state normal school in the country to require a high school diploma as a condition of admission.

Although the rapid growth of the public high school contributed to the upgrading of normal school standards, it also threatened the normal school's place in the educational system. An 1883 Wisconsin law, for example, required high schools to offer instruction in the theory and art of teaching. The high school, following the path laid down by the normal school, became an institution of mixed character, offering both academic and vocational training. Only as the common schools were graded did they assume the intermediate position in the educational system that was hitherto held by normal schools, academies, and colleges. It was hoped that the normal school would now leap to full professional status. The normal schools, though, were too closely tied by this time to a general academic tradition and they were well on their way toward becoming junior colleges.[19]

Many similarities existed between nineteenth-century normal schools and high schools. Popular support for both institutions was rooted in the boosterism of the period. Both institutions arose at the same point in time and were an extension of public education. Early normal schools and high schools also possessed a wide ranging curriculum that provided much remedial work for students. Townspeople looked to both institutions for the same services.[20]

If the normal school's popularity was noteworthy, the high school's was nothing short of phenomenal. Its success can be attributed to the increasing demand for institutions of post-elementary rank. While the normal school attempted to serve a state constituency, the high school was designed to serve local, immediate needs. Because of this, the high school had wide citizen appeal and by the nineties was seen by some as the most "potent" force in the educational system.[21] In reshaping the contours of education, it altered the normal school's course. As a local institution, it offered every community an opportunity for advanced academic work and teacher training close to home. In predominantly rural states, the high school replaced the normal school as the leading teacher training institution.[22]

The reason for the high school's incursion into the field of teacher education was the normal school's failure to produce an adequate supply of trained teachers. Few students remained in the professional course long enough to graduate. Wisconsin's statistics for the year 1891 are striking. In that year the state's five normal schools produced only sixty-five graduates, forty-four of which were from the schools in Platteville and Milwaukee. At the same time, each school showed an enrollment of from three to four hundred students. The *Wisconsin Journal of Education* demanded an investigation into why this proportion of graduates to students was so low at a time when the schools were no longer young.[23]

The *Milwaukee Sentinel* inquired into whether the normal schools answered the purpose for which they were established. It compared the normal schools to high schools and pointed out that the former did not supply enough teachers more than the latter to justify discriminating in name between the two institutions.[24] Both were engaged in teacher education and it was impossible to determine which one turned out more qualified teachers. In reply, a Janesville paper refused to brand the normal schools as failure for their record in teacher education. Their real contribution, according to the *Janesville Gazette*, was in training students for business occupations.[25] When, in 1885, the normal schools finally attempted to rid themselves of liberal studies that did not pertain to the function of preparing common school teachers, they met with disapprobation in towns lacking high schools or academies.[26] This situation highlighted an essential dilemma facing Wisconsin's normal schools: would they ever be able to retreat from the academic work that citizens had come to expect? If they were to continue paralleling the high schools, what was to stop the high school from duplicating the work of the normal school?

By the 1880's, the high school's usurpation of the normal school's teacher training function was well advanced. This caused a shift in educational boundaries that brought the normal school into close alliance with the high school. The high school's growing ability to provide intermediate instruction and to prepare rural school teachers meant that the normal school no longer had to "lay the foundation and build the superstructure also."[27] Not surprisingly, the normal school began to emphasize the preparation of high school teachers. In turn, admission requirements were increased to require previous high school attendance and, eventually, a high school diploma was required of all applicants.

The University of Wisconsin was similarly affected by these developments. It too dropped its preparatory department and looked to high schools for qualified applicants. The normal school's new emphasis on training high school teachers also altered its relationship to the University. As the normal school curriculum expanded to include subjects of a more advanced nature, it more closely resembled the curriculum of the Madison institution. It was just a matter of time before Wisconsin's normal schools became feeder institutions to the University; by the 1890's, it was common for normal school graduates to enroll on the Madison campus as juniors.[28] At the same time, the normal school's plans for training high school teachers conflicted with the University's program in pedagogy. There still existed a lack of functional division in teacher training, as well as in general education.

From its earliest days, educators viewed the normal school as an institution for the professional education of teachers. It was to be a place that distinguished between knowing a subject and how to teach a subject. A pupil could gain subject-mastery at almost any institution of higher rank, but the normal school was for learning how to transfer knowledge to students.[29] As Merle Borrowman illustrated in his excellent study, *The Liberal and Technical in Teacher Education*,

"professional" was a hallowed term in the nineteenth century and it was intended that normal schools be strictly professional. Yet, despite agreement on the need to differentiate between normal schools and other educational institutions, there was no agreement on the meaning of professional.[30] For some, teacher education was narrow and specific; others viewed it as a many-sided process that included liberal arts studies. In almost every instance however, pedagogy remained only a part of the overall course of studies.[31]

In Wisconsin, the normal school's inability to become solely a teacher training institution was recognized early. It was widely accepted that the normal schools would have to become academies before becoming true normal schools. As late as the 1880's, a distinction was still drawn between an ideal and practicable normal school.[32] Only the normal schools at Milwaukee and Stevens Point that opened toward the close of the century approached the ideal. At these institutions, in part because of the advanced state of secondary education at the times of their founding, there was a close blend of academic and technical work from the start.

At Wisconsin's normal schools, many factors retarded the transition from an academic to a professional focus. There was reluctance and opposition to abolishing preparatory instruction; the local normal school still provided services that were otherwise unobtainable. The development of a viable professional course was also slowed by a continued influx of students with no desire to teach and by a high dropout rate in the advanced course.[33] When the Regents introduced a special advanced course for those already teaching, it failed to attract many students. Every effort to promote professional instruction met with difficulty and progress remained slow.[34]

By the 1890's, the discontinuance of the normal school's preparatory function was hotly contested. While many educators conceded that preparatory instruction was still required in some areas of the state, they called for its abolition in other regions.[35] The rapid development of the high school, declared the Wisconsin Journal of Education in 1892, mandated an overhaul of the normal school curriculum. Elementary courses should be eliminated, all schools should offer only a full four year course, the study of Latin should be commenced during the second year, and all other courses should be enriched.[36] The removal of the preparatory course, however, was opposed by the Presidents of the institutions and was consequently voted down by the Regents. The *Wisconsin Journal of Education* responded with a scathing editorial that characterized the normal schools as "great grammar and high schools," instead of teacher seminaries.[37]

Citizens' pressure kept outdated preparatory courses intact long after they were needed. Only as it became impossible to accommodate the number of students seeking admission to normal schools in the 1890's were preparatory departments abandoned. As the upgrading process continued, the normal school sought to carve a niche in the educational network. The normal school became less local and more of a state in-

stitution. In turn, it was replaced at the local level by a new institutional form that took over the task of preparing teachers for the state's rural school districts. With the establishment of the Marathon County Training School in 1898, the movement to again diversify higher education was underway. As in the past, local demand for higher education arose under the guise of teacher training. Like its predecessor, county normal schools would respond to citizen pressure for instruction that was not always related to the purpose of training teachers.[38]

The Wisconsin Superintendent for Public Instruction for 1893 demonstrated how far things had come during the preceding forty years. His annual report criticized the normal school's excessive devotion to practice work, the theory and art of teaching, and the history of education. The superintendent said these studies consumed too much of the student's time and energy. The normal school's new distinctive purpose was not distinctive at all: it was to promote the same type of good scholarship that existed in Wisconsin's many colleges and in the State University.[39] As Wisconsin's normal schools advanced from secondary to higher studies and lost their local focus, they became college-like in both curriculum and public appeal. The "professional" emphasis that was always claimed as its ideal remained buried in the curriculum. In time, the normal school became a college in its own right.[40] If teacher education was to achieve professional status and recognition, it would have to do so by building on the foundation of traditional academic disciplines.

For much of the nineteenth century, the American normal school stood as a mediator of educational events, reacting first to the paucity of common schools and lack of students prepared for higher studies, then to the upward extension of the public school system and the demand for academic instruction at the local level, and finally to the growth of the public high school. In every instance, it adjusted its goals and reflected realistic alternatives rather than impossible ideals. In this capacity, it helped to shape the modern educational system. Teacher education remained on the periphery of the normal school's work. While the history of Wisconsin teacher education may present a somewhat exaggerated portrait of the nation, it suggests the need to re-exmaine the normal school's contribution to the formation of the teaching profession, American education, and society at large.

Footnotes

1 "Address by Superintendent Shaw to a Convention of School Superintendents," December 29, 1875, in the *Annual Report of the Wisconsin Superintendent of Public Instruction for the Year 1876*, p. 313, (Hereafter ARSPI).

2 David B. Potts, "College Enthusiasm! As Public Response, 1800-1860," *Harvard Education Review*, V. 47, #1, February 1977, pp. 28-42; and Robert L. Church and Michael W. Sedlak, *Education in the United States*, New York: The Free Press, 1976, pp. 25-51.

3 For more on this, see Collin Burke, "The Quiet Influence: The American Colleges and their Students, 1800-1860," Diss., Washington University, 1973, p. 104; and Paul H. Mattingly, *The Classless Profession: American Schoolmen in the Nineteenth Century*, New York: New York University Press, 1975, p. 177.

[4] For the early educational history of Wisconsin, see Lloyd P. Jorgenson, *The Founding of Public Education in Wisconsin*, Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1956; and Conrad E. Patzer, *Public Education in Wisconsin*, Madison: issued by John Callahan, State Superintendent, 1924.

[5] For the early history of teacher education in the United States, see Merle L. Borrowman, *The Liberal and Technical in Teacher Education*, New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1954, p. 35; J. P. Gordy, *Rise and Growth of the Normal Idea in the United States*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Bureau of Education, 1891, p. 98; and Vernon Lamar Mangun, *The American Normal School: Its Rise and Development in Massachusetts*, with an introduction by William C. Bagley, Baltimore: Warwick & Work, Inc., 1928, pp. 411-412.

[6] *Laws of Wisconsin, 1865*, Chapter 537; and the *Annual Report of the Regents of Normal Schools for the Year 1865*, Madison: 1865, p. 4. (Hereafter *ARNS*).

[7] See the *Grant County Witness*, (Platteville, Wisconsin), for July 27, August 10, September 7, 1865, December 7, 1865, and March 8, 1966; also Richard D. Gamble, *From Academy to University, 1866-1966*, Platteville: Wisconsin State University, 1966.

[8] For some of the early efforts to secure an institution of higher rank, see the *Whitewater Register* for August 1, 1857, February 13, 1858, October 15, 1859, January 4, 18, 25, 1861, March 8, 1861, August 7, 1863, June 19, 1863, September 1, 1865, and March 9, 1866; also, M. Janett Bohi, *A History of Wisconsin State University Whitewater, 1868-1968*, Wisconsin State University Foundation, 1967, pp. 19-27; and Albert Salisbury, *First Quarter Century of the State Normal School at Whitewater, Wisconsin*, Madison: Tracy, Gibbs, & Co., 1893.

[9] Arthur O. Norton, Ed., *The First State Normal School in America: The Journals of Cyrus Peirce and Mary Swift*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926, p. 52.

[10] *Milwaukee Sentinel*, September 11, 1852.

[11] For examples, see C. O. Ruggles, *Historical Sketch and Notes: Winona State Normal School, 1860-1910*, Winona: Jones & Kroeger Co., 1910, pp. 24-25; and Alison Prentice, *The School Promoters: Education and Social Class in Mid-Nineteenth Century Upper Canada*, Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Limited, 1977, p. 142.

[12] See the *Grant County Witness*, September 13, 1866; and Ruggles, p. 26.

[13] Mangun, pp. 290, 348; and Bohi, p. 41.

[14] *Grant County Witness*, March 27, 1866.

[15] *Ibid.*, August 16, 1866.

[16] See Ruggles, p. 199; and "The Report of the Convention of Superintendents and Principals," *ARSPI*, 1873, p. 149.

[17] "Report of the Visiting Committee to the Whitewater Normal School," *ARSPI, 1881*, p. 265; and the "Report of the Oshkosh Normal School," in the *Biennial Report of the Regents of Normal Schools, 1882-3, 1883-4*, p. 49, (Hereafter BRNS).

[18] "Report of the Visiting Committee to the River Falls Normal School," *BRNS, 1886*, pp. 143-150; and the *Milwaukee Sentinel*, February 27, 1885.

[19] For the high school legislation, see *Laws of Wisconsin for 1883*, Chapter 325, p. 286.

[20] "Report of the Visiting Committee of the Platteville Normal School." *ARSPI, 1879*, p. 215.

[21] By 1892, there were one hundred and eighty-two high schools in Wisconsin. See J. W. Stearns, Ed., *The Columbia History of Education in Wisconsin*, Milwaukee: Evening Wisconsin Co., 1893, p. 61. This is an excellent resource for both public and private education in the state.

[22] For more on the demand for teacher training in high schools, see Gordy, p. 115, and Mangun, p. 313.

[23] *Wisconsin Journal of Education*, Vol. XXI, #9, September 1891, (Hereafter *WJE*).

[24] *Milwaukee Sentinel*, April 8, 1884.

[25] The *Janesville Gazette's* reply was printed in the *Milwaukee Sentinel*, April 12, 1884.

[26] The *Milwaukee Sentinel*, February 25, 1885, contains a long letter from a Whitewater citizen on this matter.

[27] "Extracts from the Report of the President of the Milwaukee Normal School J. J. Mapel," *BRSPI, 1886*, pp. 94-95.

[28] *WJE*, Vol. V, #7, July 1875, p. 298; "Report of Superintendent Fallows," *ARSPI, 1872*, p. 17; *ARSPI, 1882*, p. 54; and *BRNS, 1888-9, 1889-90*, p. 9.

[29] John L. Hart, "Professional Education of Teachers," *School Monthly*, Vol. I, #10, June 1868, p. 319.

[30] Borrowman, p. 89.

[31] See the "Report of the Examining Committee of the Oshkosh Normal School," *ARSPI, 1874*, p. 148; Dorothy Rogers, *Oswego: Fountainhead of Teacher Education*, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1961, pp. 16-18; and George Frank Sammis, Jr., "A History of the Maine Normal Schools," Diss., University of Connecticut, 1970, p. 94.

[32] *Whitewater Register*, February 26, 1869; and *BRSPI, 1884*, pp. 24-25.

[33] *BRNS, 1886-7, 1887-8*, p. 8; and "Report of the Platteville Normal School," *BRNS, 1884-5, 1885-6*, p. 33.

[34] "Report of the Whitewater Normal School," *ARNS, 1878-9*, p. 28; *BRNS, 1886-7, 1887-8*, p. 7; and "Report of the Oshkosh Normal School," *BRNS, 1888-9, 1899-0*, pp. 47-48.

[35] For example, see *WJE*, Vol. XXII, #2, February, 1892, pp. 27-28.

[36] *WJE*, Vol. XXII, #6, June 1892, Editorial.

[37] *WJE*, Vol. XXII, #8, August 1892, Editorial.

[38] For an example of the pressure to drop preparatory departments, see "G. S. Albee to Professor J. W. Stearns," printed in the *WJE*, Vol. XXVII, #1, January 1897, pp. 6-7; "G. S. Albee, President of the Oshkosh Normal School, to J. G. McMynn," October 13, 1897, Ms., State Historical Society of Wisconsin - Madison, McMynn Papers; and for the development of County Normal Schools, see the *WJE*, Vol. XXVII, #2, February 1898, pp. 37-38.

[39] Quote and discussed in the *WJE*, Vol. XXIII, #6, June 1893, pp. 123-124.

[40] See Jessie M. Pangburn, *The Evolution of the American Teachers College*, New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932, p. 123; Arthur Lee, "Public Education in Post-Bellum Missouri," Diss., University of Missouri at Columbia, 1976, p. 177; and Mattingly, p. 151.

"Winona Normal School Student Profile, 1860-1900"

Preliminary Report on the Research Project

George E. Bates, Jr.

As part of the fledgling state's public school system, the first Minnesota Normal School was established in 1858 at Winona to train teachers and administrators who would serve that system. Despite setbacks created by national emergency and frontier exigencies, the Normal School graduated its first class in 1866 and across the century was in the vanguard of American educational theory and practice. For years it experimented with and instructed in the latest theories and methods through innovations such as the model school for observation and practice teaching, the preparatory department, and the kindergarten.

Although its name changed from School to College and recently to University, until a short while ago most students were women who often attended to learn the skills of teaching which (along with medicine, law, theology, and science) was developing a professional consciousness before the turn of the century. With few isolated exceptions, continuous records of all students have survived and are part of the Winona State University Archives held by the Southeast Minnesota Historical Center located on the University campus. This good fortune is enhanced by the wealth of information which they contain — indeed, they may be a unique historical source. Although contents vary, until about 1965, they contain data for such variables as students' name, sex, age, residence, nativity, previous instruction, curricula, courses of study, academic record, date they left or completed their study, work experience and certification, salary, siblings, and their parents' name, nativity, residence, and occupation.

By themselves, the student records justify the selection of Winona as the site of an intensive study of a normal school student body. They are complete, cover a crucial time span, are rich in socio-economic and cultural data, and describe an innovative School located in a progressive state which moved from frontier to urban shadow.

The present study includes all students enrolled at the Normal School, 1860-1900 (4,478 subjects) and contains one hundred and one variables defining the data listed above. Most often quantitative studies rely on sampling, but this project's collective biography has a structure resting on reconstitution.[1] Because of the nature of the Winona student body, the collective biography will have a great deal to say about the professional development and education of women. But it will also lead to descriptions in three other areas: 1.) Comparisons of students and their parents can be made against profiles of the general population described in other regional and local studies.[2] 2.) Cohorts of students and parents can be examined to discover how they vary over time in relation to external and internal factors. 3.) Patterns of certain kinds of sibling relationships can be examined.

Analysis of the project's data is in very preliminary stages, but early results are encouraging.[3] Significant relationships between a number of variables have been identified, and they have provided the basis for tentative hypotheses and conclusions. Some, dealing largely with the variable SEX, were presented to the Conference on the History of Women in October, 1977, in a paper titled, "The Professional Education of Minnesota Daughters — and a Few Sons . . . " The paper left several questions unexamined. One which has received some further, but still incomplete, analysis is: Why did certain groups (defined by variables relating to characteristics of family, status, and occupation) send their children to the School in peculiar patterns? The results are shared with you today in this paper.

Behind the analysis lie several assumptions which should be made explicit. One is that while the child's desires, interests, and talents were not ignored, unlike the present day, parents had considerably more influence over basic decisions relating to children's education and subsequent career patterns; and the parents' input was more broadly based on a wide range of considerations often connected with class assumptions. Another is that usually sons followed their father's occupation; and most (including the professions) did not require formal education to acquire skills, rather they could be (and most often were) learned through job experience. Finally, despite the School's declared educational objectives, certain parents might send their children for other reasons which sometimes might be incompatible with those stated purposes.

As expected, the vast majority of students at the Normal School were women. From 1860-1900, the figure ranges from 83% to 85%.[4] It is equally clear that the institution's purpose was to train teachers. The catalog for 1866-1867 described the School's primary objective as the "instruction and practice of Teachers in the art of Teaching and Governing the Common Schools of this State. Its course of study and training has been arranged in such a manner as to secure, to the fullest extent, this important object."[5] To further secure this purpose, upon matriculation each student was required to sign a solemn declaration that immediately upon leaving the School, she or he would teach in the state's schools for two years, "Sickness or unavoidable cause only excusing me from the strict performance of this obligation."[6] Quite soon, however, the rigidity of this pledge was relaxed in practice as students were admitted who did not sign the obligation but in lieu of teaching agreed to pay tuition; and some who signed later met their obligation through a combination of service and payment.[7] The inescapable general conclusion is that most students were women who attended to qualify themselves for teaching.

TABLE 1

Parent Occupation by Student Sex[1]

	Female				Male				Total	
	No.	Row %	Col. %	% N	No.	Row %	Col. %	% N	No.	% N
Agriculture	1,000	78.9	46.2	39.0	268	21.1	67.5	10.5	1,268	49.5
Transportation-Communication	119	90.2	5.5	4.6	13	9.8	3.3	.5	132	5.2
Finance	80	88.9	3.7	3.1	10	11.1	2.5	.4	90	3.5
Professions	132	82.5	6.1	5.2	28	17.5	7.1	1.1	160	6.2
Natural Resources	84	95.5	3.9	3.3	4	4.5	1.0	.2	88	3.4
Government Employees	39	95.1	1.8	1.5	2	4.9	.5	.1	41	1.6
Trade-Craft	308	91.4	14.2	12.0	29	8.6	7.3	1.1	337	13.2
Retail-Services	307	90.3	14.2	12.0	33	9.7	8.3	1.3	340	13.5
Manufacturing-Mills	89	90.8	4.1	3.5	9	9.2	2.3	.4	98	3.8
Retired	7	87.5	.3	.3	1	12.5	.3	.0	8	.3
TOTALS	2,165		100.0	84.5	397		100.1	15.6	2,562	99.9

[1] Data taken from WNSSP-1A. Run 30 AUG 78; General Crosstabs, SEX by PAROCCUP, 5-6.

TABLE 2

Parent Status by Student Sex[1]

	Female				Male				Total		
	No.	Row %	Col. %	% N	No.	Row %	Col. %	% N	No.	% N	% Adj. N[2]
Unknown	558	78.3	21.1	17.5	162	21.7	29.1	4.9	720	22.4	—
Large Property Owner-Entrep.	71	94.7	2.6	2.1	4	5.3	.7	.1	75	2.3	2.9
Manager-Direct.	24	88.9	.7	.7	3	11.1	.5	.1	27	.8	1.0
Small Business.	287	90.3	10.4	8.6	31	9.7	5.6	.9	318	9.6	12.3
Highly Educated	172	84.3	6.2	5.2	32	15.7	5.8	1.0	204	6.1	7.9
Foreman-Superv.	43	91.5	1.6	1.3	4	8.5	.7	.1	47	1.4	1.8
Skilled Worker	430	90.9	15.5	12.9	43	9.1	7.7	1.3	473	14.2	18.3
Routine or Office Worker	103	91.2	3.7	3.1	10	8.8	1.8	.3	113	3.4	4.4
Unskilled Labor	78	94.0	2.8	2.3	5	6.0	.9	.2	83	2.5	3.2
Farmer	978	78.9	35.3	29.4	262	21.1	47.1	7.9	1,240	37.3	48.1
TOTALS	2,744		99.9	83.2	556		99.9	16.8	3,300	100.0	99.9

[1] Data taken from WNSSP-1A. Run 25 AUG 78; General Crosstabs, STATUS by SEX, 2.

Adjusted N equals N minus Unknown or 2,580.

Another general conclusion is that most students came from rural America. About a quarter of them were from the city of Winona which became a booming Mississippi River town that boasted a population of about twenty thousand just before the end of the century. Winona served as the hub of the region's economic life centering around agricultural production and natural resources, especially timber which created wealthy lumber barons who built mansions in the City and along the River and lived the genteel life on the edge of the frontier. The vast majority of students listed Minnesota as their state of residence, and almost all came from the Upper Mid-West and Great Lakes area of the United States.[8]

Sibling relationships, expressed in the variables SIBSEX1 through SIBSEX2, can be traced through common parent name. Preliminary analysis of siblings indicates that few students had a sister or brother who also attended the School, but if they did, there was a rather stronger tendency for the siblings to be male than one would predict from the general student sex distributions described in Tables 1 and 2.[9] Additional analysis of sibling relationships is necessary before strong conclusions may be reached but it appears that parents were highly selective in deciding to commit family resources to a second child's advanced education and training connected with the emerging teaching profession.

The descriptions which students gave of their parent's employment was rather specific and has been used to create variables of occupation (PAROCCUP) classified into nine categories and STATUS, also with nine categories.[10] An examination of occupation and status profiles comparing them with those of rural Trempealeau County, Wisconsin, 1860-1880, reveals that Normal School students did not come from a cross section of rural frontier society.[11] Although three quarters of the adult males employed in Trempealeau County were engaged in the occupation of agriculture, only about half the students' parents were.[12] Parents in occupations related to Transportation-Communications, Finance, and Natural Resources contributed far more students than their proportionate distribution in the County. Manufacturing-Mills, Trade-Crafts, Government Employees, and Professions sent their children slightly more often than would be expected. Retail-Services sent theirs in patterns which were almost normal. Although two categories present in the Profile's variable status are missing in the Trempealeau study, results of similar magnitude tend to appear.[13] The two largest groups, Unskilled and Farmer, sent far fewer students than would be expected.[14] Proportionately Owner-Entrepreneur and Small Business parents sent large numbers of students; while Routine-Office, Skilled, and Highly Educated sent only slightly more. On the basis of these variables, Normal School students seem to have been very atypical of the general frontier population.[15]

When occupation and status are crosstabulated, it becomes apparent that the vast majority of students come from six of the eighty-one possible combinations describing a particular family's occupation and status which in this paper will be conveniently referred to as Class. About half

the students had parents who were Farmers engaged in Agriculture (Farmers). Parents who were Skilled and engaged in a Trade-Craft (Trade-Craft) or who were in Small Business active in Retailing or Services (Small Business) each sent about ten percent. Those with High Education who were Professionals (High Education) contributed about six percent while Owner-Entrepreneurs contributed about six percent while Owner-Entrepreneurs associated with Natural Resources (Elites) and Skilled persons working in Manufacturing-Mills (Manufacturing-Mills) each sent about two.[16] These groups have been recoded to create the new variable OCCSTAT, or, Class; and as we try to understand why parents sent their children to the Normal School, our attention will focus on them.

TABLE 3

Population Composition by Occupation
Comparing Trempleau County, Wisconsin and
Winona Normal School Students' Parents[1]

	Trempleau County						Parents
	1860		1870		1880		
	#	%	#	%	#	%	% of N
Agriculture	502	65.9	2,210	76.8	3,909	76.3	49.5
Transporation-Communications	3	.4	26	.9	39	.8	5.2
Finance	1	.1	9	.3	13	.3	3.5
Professions	34	4.5	88	3.1	148	2.9	6.2
Natural Resources	3	.4	16	.6	14	.3	3.4
Government Employee	--	--	3	.1	31	.6	1.6
Trade-Craft	132	17.3	147	5.1	236	4.6	13.2
Retail-Services	75	9.9	328	11.4	647	12.6	13.5
Manufacturing-Mills	10	1.3	50	1.7	75	1.5	3.8
Unknown	1	.1	1	--	9	.2	--
TOTALS	761	99.9	2,878	100.0	5,121	100.1	99.9

[1] Data taken from: Curti, *Making of An American Community*, Appendix II, 459-461. WNSSP-1A. Run 30 AUG 78; General Crosstabs, SEX by PAROCCUP, 5-6.

TABLE 4

Population Composition by Status:
Comparing Trempleau County, Wisconsin and
Winona Normal School Students' Parents

	Trempleau County						Parents	
	1860		1870		1880			%
	#	%	#	%	#	%	% N	Adj. N
Unknown	--	--	--	--	--	--	22.4	--
Large Property Owner-Entrepreneur	10	1.4	12	.4	14	.3	2.3	2.9
Manager-Director	--	--	--	--	--	--	.8	1.0
Small Businessman	19	2.7	61	2.1	127	2.5	9.6	12.3
Highly Educated	35	5.0	88	3.1	172	3.4	6.1	7.9
Foreman-Supervisor	--	--	--	--	--	--	1.4	1.8
Skilled Worker	78	11.3	208	7.2	337	6.6	14.2	18.3
Routine or Office Worker	1	.1	25	.9	68	1.3	3.4	4.4
Unskilled Laborer	124	17.9	784	27.3	1,715	33.8	2.5	3.2
Farmer	426	61.5	1,696	59.0	2,646	52.1	37.3	48.1
TOTALS	693	99.9	2,874	100.0	5,079	100.0	100.0	99.9

[1] Data taken from: Curti, *Making of An American Community*, Appendix II, 459-461. WNSSP-1A. Run 25 AUG 78; General Crosstabs, STATUS by SEX, 2.

TABLE 5

Parent Class by Student Sex[1]

	Female				Male				Total	
	#	Row %	Col. %	% N	#	Row %	Col. %	% N	#	% N
Skilled Trade-Craft	258	90.8	15.4	12.7	26	9.2	7.5	1.2	284	14.0
Small Business Retail-Services	233	89.6	13.9	11.5	27	10.4	7.8	1.4	260	12.9
Highly Educated Professional	127	83.0	7.6	6.3	26	17.0	7.5	1.2	153	7.5
Owner-Entrepreneur Natural Resources	51	96.2	3.0	2.5	2	3.8	.6	.1	53	2.6
Skilled Manufacturing-Mills	37	88.1	2.2	1.8	5	11.9	1.4	.3	42	2.0
Farmers	974	78.8	58.0	48.0	262	21.2	75.3	12.9	1,236	60.9
TOTALS	1,680		100.1	82.8	348		100.1	17.1	2,028	99.9

[1] Data taken from WNSSP-1A. Run 05 SEP 78; General Crosstabs, OCCSTAT by SEX, 6.

Several characteristics are striking about the profiles of students whose parents were Farmers. Meeting tuition obligation through service is perhaps the strongest index of professional commitment underlying education at the Normal School. Farmers' children, compared with other Class groups, had very strong tendencies to serve; and this is especially true among males.[17] Another index of professionalism, but a far weaker one, is whether the student graduated from the School, or merely attended. Of all groups, these students had the strongest tendency not to graduate.[18] It is important to note, however, this index is ambiguous. While it might reflect disinterest, it also in fact did reflect financial distress. It was so common for students to attend only for a semester or two and then leave to teach that reluctantly the School eventually made provisions in the curricula for this contingency by developing continuous sessions, or, summer school.[19] Finally, of all groups, Farmers had the strongest tendency to send sons rather than daughters.[20]

The profiles of Farmers' children have considerable affinity with the second largest group, Trade-Craft. These children also tended to meet their tuition obligation through service; especially, the women. But unlike Farmers, they tended to graduate more often; and they were much more interested in sending women students.[21] The smallest group, Manufacturing-Mills, also were similar. Their children, especially women, tended to serve; there was a tendency not to graduate; and also some leaning toward sending women.[22]

It appears these three groups sent their children to the Normal School to enter the teaching profession, but between them, there are important variations of purpose. Farmers were unusually interested in their sons' professional education and perhaps were seeking to give them an easier, better occupation and a higher status in life. The Trade-Craft groups seems to have been most concerned with their daughters' future and through education sought to give them a profession. Perhaps we may assume they, or their male children, were more satisfied with their lot, and the sons most often followed their father's vocation without need of formal education. Finally, Manufacturing-Mills followed much the same patterns as Trade-Craft, and it is worth noting the status of both is Skilled.

Small Business parents were inclined somewhat toward sending women not men. Their children also tended to graduate and to pay tuition; the latter is especially true for males.[23] Payment can reflect several circumstances. It may arise where the student has no intention of teaching but attended for some other purpose, for example: sons of businessmen might attend to learn accounting or communications skills necessary in business; or, genteel daughters might be sent to become polished and suitable ornaments of future husbands. Payment might also occur for women who initially attended to become teachers but who married before service was completed. Since they could not teach after marriage, their husbands could meet their remaining obligation by payment. In the case of Small Business parents, we may assume they selectively educated a few of their sons for advantages not related to

teaching. But their daughters probably were more serious about a teaching profession. They would have had little opportunity in the business community; they were sent more often than their brothers; and more often, they met their tuition obligation through service.

Like Small Business, the children of Highly Educated parents tended to pay their tuition; this is especially the case among males. Of all groups, they had the highest percent of graduates — especially among males in the Advanced Course which presupposed considerable preliminary education, reflected a relatively high level of finished education, and the curriculum included Latin (still the learned language of medicine, and to some degree law and theology). As might be suspected these parents had a strong tendency to send sons, and a slight tendency not to send daughters.[24] It appears they viewed the Normal School as the best available preparatory education for their sons' careers as professionals. The sons might become teachers, but more likely they paid their tuition and entered another, more lucrative profession. It is not so clear why their daughters attended. Although about two thirds met the tuition obligation through service, still only Elite daughters paid more often. Perhaps there were two, compatible reasons: daughters of the Highly Educated ought to receive some degree of serious education, and so much the better if that education trained them to a profession upon which they could fall back in an emergency.

The Elite group almost certainly reflects the lumber barons of the Upper Mississippi River. If for no other reason they stand out at the Normal School because, in relative numbers, they sent their daughters in droves and kept their sons away. Moreover, their children had very strong tendencies to pay tuition and not to graduate.[25] We may suppose this is so because sons had no need of Normal School education as they could inherit and manage the family wealth without excessive reference to formal education. With regard to daughters, it is difficult to construe their educational objectives as being related to the teaching profession. Rather, it would appear that this group viewed the Normal School as a geographically convenient spot to finish their daughters and give them all the polish necessary to lead a complete life.

What may we say about why parents sent their children to the Winona Normal School? First, the conclusion that most students who attended were women desiring to become teachers is, in a limited sense, true. But when the experiences of certain groups who sent the majority of students are analyzed subtle variations appear and reveal a richness of conflicting purposes and aspirations. Families did not give a Normal School education equally or indiscriminately to their children. Most families, through processes which presently are largely unknown, consciously decided to send only one child; most often a female was selected. But if the process resulted in more than one child being sent, more often than one would expect, the children would be male. Clearly this is an area which needs much more elaboration through variables relating to ethnicity, geography, and age. A normal school education also was clearly not distributed equally among all frontier occupation and status groups — particularly those in agriculture showed a marked disinterest

in educating their children while at the same time those who did were, relative to other groups, unusually interested in educating their sons. Again, much more elaboration, particularly through comparison with regions other than Trempealeau County, is called for. Finally, most children appear to have attended for one or a combination of three purposes: to become teachers, to receive a preparatory education for the professions, or to become polished companions of men.

All in all, this brief, incomplete analysis reveals a highly differentiated frontier society whose people generally supported education but for different reasons reflecting their particular concerns, interests, and dreams for their children's future.

Appendix I

PAROCCUP Classifications

Unknown

Agriculture

- Farmer: Agriculturist, Fruitgrower, Horticulturist, Nurseryman, Thresher, Farmer
- Dairyman
- Stock Farmer
- Landscape Gardner

Transportation-Communication

- River: Captain, Pilot, Steamboat Master, Ship's Carpenter, Steamboatman, River Engineer, Boat Agent
- Horse: Drayman, Teamster, Liveryman
- Railroad: Fireman, Brakeman, Conductor, Engineer, Manager, Contractor, Yardman, Shopman, Agent, Dispatcher, Ticketman, Baggageman, Roadmaster, Telegrapher

Finance

- Commission Merchant, Banking, Insurance, Real Estate, Money Lender, Accountant

Professions

- Legal, Religious, Education, Medical, Artist, Inventor, Photographer, Engineer, Surveyor

Natural Resources

- Lumber, Mining, Oil

Government Employees

- Sheriff, Prison Guard, County Clerk

Trade-Craft

- Food: Brewer, Cook, Confectioner, Buttermaker, Butcher
- Construction: Builder, Architect, Contractor, Mason, Plasterer, Carpenter, Paperhanger, Painter, Joiner
- Clothing

Printing: Printer, Lithographer, Stencil Cutter, Engraver

Fibers: Carpet Weaver, Weaver, Upholsterer, Carder, Flax Dresser

Mechanical: Machinist, Mechanic, Boiler Maker, Blacksmith

Retail-Services

Housing: Hotel, Boarding House, Landlady, Landlord

Merchant

Food: Grocer, Liquor Dealer, Saloon Keeper, Caterer

Services: Housekeeper, Housewife, Salesman, Secretary, Watchman

Agricultural: Grain Buyer, Machinery and Implements, Stock Broker

Manufacturing-Mills

Appendix II

STATUS Classifications

Unknown

Substantial Property Owner-Entrepreneur: Rancher, Lumber Business, Market Dealer, Manufacturer, Wholesaler, Banker

Manager-Director: Officer, School Superintendent, Lieutenant of Police, Railroad Official, Sheriff

Small Business: Commission Merchant, Contractor, Landlord or Landlady, Caterer, Grocer, Merchant, Boarding House

Highly Educated: Attorney, Architect, Builder, Pilot, Engineer, State Senator, Lithographer, Master Mechanic, Artist, Clergy, Dentist, Doctor, Druggist, Editor, Teacher

Foreman-Supervisor (Skilled or Unskilled): Inspector, Foreman, Overseer, Yardmaster, Section Boss

Skilled Work: Basket Maker, Blacksmith, Boilermaker, Brewer, Mason, Carpenter, Carriage Maker, Policeman, Housekeeper, Housewife, Sailor, Printer, Tailor, Fireman

Routine Office Worker: Agent, Salesman, Clerk

Unskilled Laborer: Laborer, Messenger

Farmer

Footnotes

[1] On reconstitution as it has been used to study English villages, see E. A. Wrigley, ed., *Introduction to English Historical Demography* (London, 1966) Chs. 3 and 4.

Although reconstitution is more time consuming and costly, it was selected for good reasons. It is the only way to establish and trace family relationships, and those relationships define an entire set of propositions and hypotheses which are to be developed and tested. Reconstitution also becomes necessary in the examination of cohort relationships because early Normal School classes were small in size. If the total student body were considered as the population to be sampled, valid conclusions could not be made because the sample would be too small; and if stratified samples were taken, the total sample size would approach reconstitution without its advantages.

[2] Some regional and local studies of Minnesota and Wisconsin have already been written, see: John G. Rice, *Patterns of Ethnicity in a Minnesota County, 1880-1905* (Umea, Sweden, 1973). William L. Crozier, "A Social History of Winona, Minnesota, 1880-1905," Ph.D. Diss., University of Nebraska, 1975. Merle Curti, et al, *The Making of an American Community* . . . (Stanford, 1959). Projects are currently being completed to build compatible data bases from the state and federal census records for Stevens and Winona Counties, Minnesota.

Others which are geographically distant but still relevant are in various stages of preparation, see: Theodore Hershberg, et al, "Occupation and Ethnicity in Five Nineteenth Century Cities: A Collective Inquiry," *Historical Methods Newsletter* VII (June, 1974) 174-216. Collective biographies of several eastern women's colleges are being planned or written.

[3] An indication of the preliminary state of analysis is the absence of a breakdown by time. Curricula and enrollment patterns do not lend themselves to conventional periods, and the periodization of earlier School histories followed School presidents' administrations. Neither seem to define students' professional patterns in very satisfactory ways.

[4] Computer File: Winona Normal School Student Profile-1A; Creation Date, 31 JUL 78; Winona State University Archives, Southeast Minnesota Historical Center, Winona State University, Winona, MN. (subsequently cited as WNSSP-1A) Run 31 JUL 78; General Frequencies; SEX, 2. Run 25 AUG 78; General Crosstabs; STATUS by SEX, 2. Run 30 AUG 78; General Crosstabs; SEX by PAROCCUP, 1-2. The variation in percent is due to missing values of different variables where missing values are suppressed in calculations. The figure of 83.3% is probably most accurate.

As one might expect, the percent has wide variation within student subgroups; among the nine classifications of status, the range is 79% (Farmer) to 95% (Owner-Entrepreneur). Because Farmers contributed at least 48.1% of all students, they weight the distribution heavily. The mode is 90.9% females, and only three classifications [Farmers, Highly Educated (84.3), and the Managers-Directors (88.9%)]lie below 90%. For a complete breakdown see Tables 1 and 2, pp. 0-0.

[5] First Annual Register . . . 1866-1867, 9. Bound as *Catalogue of the State Normal School at Winona, Minn, 1866-67 and 1880-1892*. Maxwell Library, Winona State University.

[6] Scholarship Register, State Normal School at Winona, 1880-1907, 5 vols., Winona State University Archives.

[7] 68.8% of the students met their obligation through service or service and payment; 20.4% through payment; 10% were excused for various reasons. WNSSP-1A. Run 30 AUG 78; General Crosstabs; PAROCCUP by REASCAN, 7.

Repeated efforts were made to abolish tuition payments and make the school exclusively a teacher training institution [see, for example, C. O. Ruggles, *Historical Sketch and Notes: Winona State Normal School, 1860-1910* . . . (Winona, 1910) 94-96.], but none was successful.

[8] WNSSP1-A. General Frequencies; PO, 21; STAT, 58. Run 30 AUG 78; General Crosstabs; STAT by STATUS, 13. 86.3% came from Minnesota; 90.5% from the Upper Mid-West; 98.6%, from the Upper Mid-West and Great Lakes areas.

[9] Less than one student in six had one or more siblings. For SIBSEX1, Females constitute 80.3% (N = 767); and as the number of siblings increases, the percent of females and the absolute number of siblings drops rapidly. For example in SIBSEX3 it is 60.9% where N = 87. WNSSP1-A. Run 25 AUG 78; General Crosstabs, STATUS by SIBSEX1 through SIBSEX6, 7-10.

[10] See Appendices I and II, 19-21, for a description of some types composing these classifications.

[11] Trempealeau County is located directly across the Mississippi River from Winona and Winona County, Minnesota. Data from Trempealeau is taken from Curti, *Making of an American Community*, Appendix II, 459-461 which presently is the only completed study whose data is compatible with mine. With the completion of the census projects, described in footnote 1, much more precise comparison can be made which will also make distinctions between rural and urban frontier societies.

Curti's classifications, created from census data, have been modified slightly to make them comparable with mine, and some compensation should be made for resulting aggregation errors.

[12] For data see Tables 1 and 3.

[13] For data see Tables 2 and 4.

[14] In Trempealeau County in 1880, there is a close relationship between the occupation of Agriculture and Unskilled status. 43.3% of those engaged in Agriculture were Unskilled, and 98.8% of those who were Unskilled were engaged in Agriculture. As one would expect, the relationship also exists among Normal School students. WNSSP-1A. Run 30 AUG 78; General Crosstabs, PAROCCUP by STATUS, 13.

[15] Except for the status Farmer, the composition of the Winona Normal School student body does not seem to differ very significantly from the school at West Newton, Massachusetts in 1849. See, P. A. Siljestrom, *Educational Institutions of the United States: Their Character and Organization*, Eng. trans. and ed. by Frederica Rowan (London, 1853) reprint ed. (New York, 1969) 196.

[16] See Table 5, p. 12, and WNSSP-1A. Run 30 AUG 78; General Crosstabs, PAROCCUP by STATUS, 13.

[17] 82.6% of the Farmer's children served; this was exceeded only by Trade-Craft (85.6%) with the next highest being Manufacturing-Mills (75.0%). WNSSP-1A. Run 25 AUG 78; General Crosstabs, STATUS by REASCAN, 4. Run 5 SEP 78; General Crosstabs, OCCSTAT by REASCAN, 5.

Farmers' sons (N = 175) served only 79.5% of the time, but the next highest male group is Trade-Craft (N = 26) who served only 54.5% of the time. WNSSP-1A. Run 25 AUG 78; Male Crosstabs, STATUS by REASCAN, 4. Run 5 SEP 78; Male Crosstabs, OCCSTAT by REASCAN, 5.

[18] Only 31.8% graduated. The next group is Elites at 34.0%; the group with the highest percent is High Education at 47.7%. WNSSP-1A. Run 30 AUG 78; General Crosstabs, PAROCCUP by GRADCOUR, 5. Run 5 SEP 78; General Crosstabs, OCCSTAT by GRADCOUR, 5.

[19] The *Annual Catalogue . . . 1887-1888* (and for years thereafter) gave the following advice: "If one has means to spend but part of a year in school it is better to defer entering until [one is] able to take, consecutively, the work of an entire year." 33-34.

Reluctantly and under legislative mandate the School began continuous sessions of four quarters per year. This program was designed to allow those who taught for a portion of the year to continue their professional training. *Annual Catalogue . . . 1896-1897*, 24-33. *Annual Catalogue . . . 1897-1898*, 5-6.

[20] Only 78.9% of the Farmers' children were female; the next lowest group was High Education at 84.3%. WNSSP-1A. Run 25 AUG 78; General Crosstabs, STATUS by SEX, 2. Run 5 SEP 78; General Crosstabs, OCCSTAT by SEX, 6.

[21] WNSSP-1A. Run 5 SEP 78; General Crosstabs, OCCSTAT by REASCAN, 5; GRADCOUR, 4; SEX, 6. Female Crosstabs, OCCSTAT by REASCAN, 5.

90.8% of Trade-Craft students were female, and 88.3% of the women served which is the highest percent of all groups. They also have the second highest percent of graduates (46.8%). One must be careful of all conclusions relating to males (except for Farmers) because their group size is never more than 27.

[22] Generally only 75.0% served (N = 16) while 85.7% of the women did (N = 14). Only 40% graduated (N = 42). WNSSP-1A General Crosstabs, OCCSTAT by REASCAN, 5; GRADCOUR, 4. Female Crosstabs, OCCSTAT by REASCAN, 5.

[23] 89.6% were women; 43.8% graduated; and generally two-thirds served; but among males, only 14.3% (N = 27) did. WNSSP-1A. General Crosstabs, OCCSTAT by SEX, 6; GRADCOUR, 4; REASCAN, 5. Male Crosstabs, OCCSTAT by REASCAN, 5.

[24] Generally, 62.2% served; among males, only 42.9% (N = 7). They have the highest percent of graduates (47.7%), and all males who graduated (N = 6) were in the Advanced Course. Next to Farmers, they sent the highest percent of sons (17%, N = 26). WNSSP-1A. General Crosstabs, OCCSTAT by REASCAN, 5; GRADCOUR, 4; SEX, 6. Male Crosstabs, OCCSTAT by REASCAN, 5; GRADCOUR, 4.

[25] 96.2% were women (N = 53). Only 50.0% served, and none was a male (N = 2). No males graduated, while only a third of the females did. WNSSP-1A. General Crosstabs, OCCSTAT by SEX, 6; REASCAN, 5; GRADCOUR, 4. Female Crosstabs OCCSTAT by REASCAN, 5; GRADCOUR, 4. Male Crosstabs, OCCSTAT by REASCAN, 5; GRADCOUR, 4.

The Political Life of George S. Counts

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All of us in the field of the social foundations of education know the name George S. Counts. Most of us realize the significant contributions he made as an expert on Soviet education, as a promoter of teacher organization, and as a perceptive viewer and skilled writer of his contemporary era. Only a few of us, perhaps, realize the rather active life that George Counts had as a politician. With this assumption in view, this paper will look at the nature and extent of that political activity. An interesting place to begin the search is to look at the "Humble Autobiography" written a few short years before his death that was printed in the National Society for the Study of Education Yearbook of 1971. In attempting to credit the important influences in his life, Counts acknowledges his wife; his former teachers at Baker University and the University of Chicago, such as Charles Hubbard Judd and Albion Small; his professional colleagues like John Dewey, Charles Beard, John Childs, and Harold Rugg; and his intellectual creditors like Charles Darwin, Karl Marx, William Graham Summer, and Alexis de Toqueville. There is, however, a fourth group singled out in the autobiography by Counts. This group consisted of David Dubinsky, Alex Rose, Matthew Levy, and Harry Uviller — Counts' political friends.[1] Assuming then, that this fourth group is the least well known to this assembly, let us stop to identify them more completely.

The most famous of these four political friends was David Dubinsky. Dubinsky, whose name was originally Dobnievski, was born in Brest-Litovsk in Russian Poland in 1892. While still a young child his family moved to Lody where he attended the local Zionist school and learned to read and write in Russian, Polish, and Yiddish. At age eleven he was apprenticed to his father who was a baker. Shortly after becoming a master baker at age fifteen he became active in the local baker's union and quickly got himself into trouble with local authorities as a "labor agitator." He was subsequently arrested and sentenced to Siberia.

Sending people to Siberia, it seems, was one of the only legacies of the Czarist regime eagerly adopted by the Soviet regime of the later decades. Dubinsky escaped the sentence, however, and after hiding out for a time was granted immunity just before he left to come to the United States in 1911.[2]

After a short stint as a dishwasher, Dubinsky entered the clothing trade and became a cloak cutter. Although a member of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, he was more interested in earning his citizenship and participating in socialist political activities than in union activities. By 1918, though, he was in the full swing of union activities as well as selling war bonds and denouncing the rise of the Bolsheviks in Russia. By 1920, he had become general manager of his local and in 1922 was made a member of the Executive Board of the ILGWU. In 1929 he assumed the duties of "acting" president of the gar-

ment workers when Benjamin Schesinger, the elected president, became too ill to serve. Dubinsky was elected to the presidency of the ILGWU in 1932.

With the passage of the National Labor Relations Act in 1933 the ILGWU had new power to effect organization among tradesmen. They moved with startling speed under Dubinsky's direction. Within six months 160,000 new members were brought into the union.

Dubinsky's formal political activities had changed considerably in 1928 when he and Sidney Hillman had left the Socialist Party to form a new political coalition, a coalition that eventually became the American Labor Party in 1936. This action was just one in a series made by Dubinsky to differentiate between a genuine movement of the left and one bound to the schemes of communists. It was this same motivation that led him away from the American Labor Party in 1944 to form, along with others, the American Liberal Party. In 1947 he helped to organize the Americans for Democratic Action. By 1955 the *New York Times* was calling Dubinsky " . . . the most imaginative and creative labor leader in America . . ."[3]

The second political friend singled out by Counts was Alex Rose. Born in Warsaw, Poland in 1898, Rose came into the world as Olesh Royz, the son of a prosperous tanner. He completed high school in Warsaw but could not go on to college due to the prohibition against Jews entering higher education. He came to the states in 1913 with the ambition of becoming a doctor. When the world war stopped the money he was receiving from his parents, Rose was forced to take employment as a millinery worker. He very quickly became the secretary of his local union.[4]

In 1918 Rose joined the so-called "Jewish Legion" of the British Army which served in the Middle East. He returned to the United States to once again become active in union affairs and to participate in a long series of struggles against communist infiltration and labor racketeering. The opposition to organized crime was especially dangerous and in 1932 Rose was badly beaten by hoodlums who had previously warned him against union interference in a company that had bought protection from gangsters. "'In those days," Rose recalled for a reporter, "I had a gun in my pocket and for months slept every night in a different hotel.'"

Along with Dubinsky, Rose helped to organize the American Labor Party in 1936 and to leave it for the Liberal Party in 1944. He would become the long-time secretary of the Liberal Party.[5]

Moving from membership on the Executive Board, Rose became the President of the United Hatters, Cap, and Millinery Workers International Union in 1950. Working to expose labor racketeering in all of organized labor, he was appointed chairman of the AFL-CIO Appeals Committee that was responsible for the expulsion of the Teamsters in 1957.[6]

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Matthew Levy, the third member of Counts' political mentors, was also born in Brest-Litovsk in Russian Poland in 1899. While only five, Levy's parents migrated to Savannah, Georgia where his father could pursue his trade as a watchmaker. Levy attended the local schools and entered the University of Georgia. After a brief interruption to serve in the army in 1918, Levy graduated from college in 1919 Phi Beta Kappa. Taking his well established academic abilities with him, he entered Harvard Law School from where he graduated in 1922 as editor of the prestigious *Harvard Law Review*. His private practice started in New York City in 1924 as did his active interest in Socialist Party politics. In 1934 he ran for the state supreme court as a socialist. His resounding defeat didn't seem to discourage his interest in third party politics. Because of support he had given to the LaGuardia campaign, the mayor appointed him to fill a vacancy as a municipal judge in 1938. As was the case with the men previously reported, Levy left the socialist for the American Labor Party and then the Labor Party for the Liberal Party.[7]

In 1941, the same year that George Counts would be running for city council, Levy ran for the Presidency of the Borough of Bronx. Both shared the embarrassment of defeat. Ultimately, though, Levy was to be politically successful when in 1950 he was elected to the New York State Supreme Court by a Liberal Party-Democratic Party coalition. He served with distinction on the court until his death in 1971.[8]

The fourth, and final member of this political quartet was Harry Uviller. Like Dubinsky, Rose, and Levy — he was Jewish. But unlike the others he was born in Brooklyn in 1897 where he attended the local schools and accumulated college credits as a night school student while working in the apparel industry during the day. Unlike Dubinsky and Rose, Uviller worked for apparel management as a representative of the American Coat and Suit Manufacturers Association. He soon developed the reputation as a skilled negotiator and labor mediator. This reputation caused Mayor LaGuardia to appoint him the impartial Chairman of New York City's dress industry panel.[9]

Uviller joined the Liberal Party after its formation in 1944 and served several terms as the party's treasurer. In 1949 he fulfilled the destiny of every Liberal Party candidate by losing election to the city controller's office. His work as an important labor concilator led him to appointment to the New York State Mediation Board. His work among various Jewish organizations and other philanthropic groups gained him deserved recognition. In 1961 Brandeis University established the Harry Uviller Chair of Economics. Uviller died in 1973.[10]

These four, then, Dubinsky, Rose, Levy, and Uviller are given special mention by Counts as being influential to his own political disposition. Conspicuous in his absence from the list is Adolph A. Berle, who is usually given credit for the founding of the American Liberal Party along with Dubinsky, Rose, John Childs, and George Counts. I suspect, though I lack substantiating evidence, that the omission of Berle was not meant to depreciate his importance but rather was caused simply by the fact that Counts had a social as well as political relationship with

the four that he did not have with Berle. To have had a social relationship with Berle would have been next to impossible since Berle was in Washington with great frequency between 1933 and 1938 as a key member in Franklin Roosevelt's "Brain Trust" and beginning in 1938 he accepted FDR's appointment as Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs which led to his appointment as Ambassador to Brazil in 1945.[11]

The motivation that led George Counts into the political arena where he met Dubinsky, Rose, Levy, and Uviller was, by Counts' admission, the interest in practicing what he preached, that is, the necessity of involvement in governmental affairs in order to realize a better social order. There is no reason to doubt this motivation, for certainly anyone who would work so hard for a third party that was always broke, powerless, and regional, as Counts did, could not be accused of working for wealth, power, and prestige. But before I complete the connection between Counts, Dubinsky, Rose, Levy, and Uviller, allow me to drift back in time still further — for some background material seems to be in order.

In 1927 George S. Counts came to New York City to begin his distinguished teaching career at Teachers College, Columbia University. Though his book knowledge of political science was probably sound, New York was to become the laboratory where he would learn that there was more to politics than an understanding of how the government is organized.

His principal interest, of course, was education. But his own understanding of economics and his extensive travels in the Soviet Union convinced him that it didn't make much sense to think about politics, economics, and education as though they were unrelated when in fact they were inexorably intertwined.

At first Counts was reluctant to join any political party in an active way, preferring to give lectures on Soviet politics — drawing out the obvious parallels between our society and theirs — and in participating in panel discussions on the rising international concern over Fascism and Communism. In August of 1931, he attended a meeting of the Institute of Politics held at Williamstown, Massachusetts where he debated in opposition to a proposed barricade in Russia.[12] He found such international affairs discussions to be most interesting.

But as the economic depression descended upon the nation following the ruin of the stock market in 1929, Counts was also looking at the growing internal sores that were beginning to fester. The very fact of the market crash brought the basic assumptions of capitalism into doubt. The growing unemployment with its attendant personal misery could hardly be ignored by someone like George Counts whose intellectual powers, emotional sensitivity, and abilities of perception were already well established. As retrenchment became the order of the day in the schools and teachers were being either fired or cut in their pay he naturally sided with them for he had already decided, as he had stated in his 1932 speech "Dare the School Build a New Social Order?", that a strong and autonomous body of teachers would be fundamental to social

reform. As the national situation became worse, Counts became more bold and escalated his attacks upon those political forces he thought responsible for the country's woes. In July of 1932 he used the platform of a secondary education conference held at Teachers College to criticize President Hoover for asking the American people to "endure" the rigors of the depression like Washington at Valley Forge.[13] Said Counts: "However sound the analogy may have been as a political manoeuvre, from an intelligent standpoint it is inept. The situation today requires, not the power to endure, but rather the power to think and to choose able leadership."[14]

In September Counts and several others of the TC faculty organized a protest against a ruling by the U.S. Secretary of the Interior that foreign students could not hold jobs.[15] Counts' political philosophy was forming quickly now and he made public his divorce from the capitalistic economic system in May, 1933 when he used the occasion of a meeting of educators called to discuss the depression by announcing his support for "Democratic Collectivism."[16] He did so, knowing full well, that a large number of Americans would never be able to distinguish between "Godless Communism", as they might phrase it, and such lofty phrases as democratic collectivism.

In March, 1934 Counts urged the New York Adult Education Council to introduce a curriculum that would teach collectivism instead of individualism.[17] Later that same year he accepted the offer to become editor of the new *Social Frontier* magazine and used his editorial advantage to reap abuse upon the capitalists. In the very first issue Counts explained the mission of the magazine by saying: ' "It will advocate the raising of American life from the level of the profit system, individualism and vested class interests to the plane of social motiviation, collectivism, and classlessness . . ." "It will oppose those elements which, under the guise of devotion to American ideas, would stabilize for all time the essentials of our business system and thus preserve them in the exercise of special privilege.' "[18] By 1934 the pace of Counts' public criticisms had increased considerably. He asked the New York State legislature to investigate William Randolph Hearst's "Red Scare" campaigns.[19] In September of 1935 he appeared before the New York City Board of Education to protest the dismissal of eighty-five playground supervisors.[20] In November he appeared at a conference of social studies teachers to bitterly condemn teacher loyalty oaths.[21] He had become active in the American Civil Liberties Union. In February, 1936 he traveled to St. Louis where the National Education Association's Department of Superintendence, a rather staid group to say the least, was having a joint meeting with the John Dewey Society. In an address Counts attacked Hearst, Alfred E. Smith, Father Coughlin, the Daughters of the American Revolution and threw in the American Legion for good measure.[22]

Holding to the belief that nothing was completely sacred, Counts even sought debate with that small part of the faculty at TC that didn't embrace his ideologies. Even Dean Russell was not spared his barbs. After faithfully reporting such sporadic outbreaks of internal dispute at TC, the *New York Times* editorial page in 1937 delighted in saying:

"What makes Teachers College so fascinating a place is that the professors up there constitute one big unhappy family, in the best sense of the word."[23]

When in October of 1937, 7,500 New York teachers met at Madison Square Garden Counts was there to counsel greater political activity on their part.[24] His reputation as an outspoken critic of capitalism and harbinger of "foreign schemes" and "devious doctrines" was spreading fast. When the House Un-American Activities Committee held sessions in California Harper Knowles, of the Committee, reported that the spread of Communist doctrines in California's educational system was being generated from Stanford University which was " . . . notorious for its liberal and subversive professors . . . " many of whom, he suggested, were under the influence of Dr. George S. Counts of Columbia's Teachers college."[25]

Beginning in 1939, Counts became the President of the American Federation of Teachers. He was to serve three terms. Since the AFT was an affiliate of the American Federation of Labor, he was now formally drawn into the world of labor union politics. In comparison to the political machinations, parliamentary strategems, and high powered tactics and alley fighting he would now encounter, everything that he had faced before was a formal exercise, an academic disputation where nobody ever got hurt. Now the game involved ward politics, smear campaigns, sit down strikes, the threat of violence, the use of sex for political blackmail, and harassment by both governmental agencies like the Justice Department, as well as ones political foes. Counts would have to learn fast to survive.

Counts was also active in the American Labor Party which was first organized in 1936 under the auspices of Labor's Nonpartisan League. By 1938 the ALP had already proven itself in New York State Politics when it had insured the election of Governor Lehman over his challenger, Thomas Dewey. The returns showed:

Lehman, Democrat	1,971,307
Lehman, ALP	419,979
Total	2,391,286
Dewey, Republican	2,302,505
Dewey, Progressive	24,387
Total	2,326,892[26]

If the ALP had run its own candidate Dewey would have won the election. A similar result in the national elections of 1940 occurred when the ALP insured a New York victory for FDR.

Roosevelt, Democrat	2,834,500
Roosevelt, ALP	417,418
Total	3,251,918
Wilkie, Republican	3,027,478[27]

In the 1944 Presidential elections the ALP vote again allowed Roosevelt to carry the state, this time over New York's own Thomas Dewey.[28] In New York City politics, where the Democratic Party was generally shunned by the progressives as the part of Tammany Hall, the ALP was important in putting together the coalition that would allow Fiorell H. LaGuardia to become and remain mayor despite an overwhelming majority of regular Democratic voters over the regular Republican voters.[29]

The New York City Council elections of 1941 were contested by the large number of divergent political candidates that made city politics so interesting. Among the candidates was Professor George S. Counts, running on the American Labor Party Ticket. The ALP had already, however, become split with left and right wing factions emerging. Later in his life, Counts used to regale those of us who would listen in rapture to his stories, with a number of quotable quips. One of these was that he had played left half-back on his high school football team, left forward on its basketball team, and had remained on the left ever since. This is a marvelous story but not entirely true. For when the American Labor Party split into factions, George Counts was on the right wing. It should be understood, however, that to be on the right wing of the ALP was still to be miles to the left of dead center. Joining Counts in this right wing were Dubinsky, Rose, Levy, and Uviller. The left wing seemed to be Communist and Counts had finally learned, under the tutelage of Dubinksy and Rose, that it was possible to be anti-Communist without being anti-Russian and anti-gangster without being anti-Civil rights.

Counts ran for the city council from the Borough of Manhattan with Jacob Rosenberg as his running mate. Representing the left wing of the ALP in the election was Vito Marcantonio, a skilled veteran, and a political novice named the Reverend Adam Clayton Powell Jr.[30]

George Counts ran hard for the office. The left wing of the ALP had been successful in having his name omitted from the official ballot. Judicial redress undertaken by Counts came too late to restore his name.[31] He pushed on anyway offering luncheon addresses which promised slum clearance and greater welfare work.[32] Counts received endorsement from Dubinsky's ILGWU, Jacob Potofsky's Amalgamated Clothing Workers, plus personal endorsements from Reinhold Neibuhr of Union Theological Seminary and Morris L. Ernst of the American Civil Liberties Union.[33] But it was all for naught for when the people grappled through the maze of Democratic, Republican, Communist Party, Fusion Citizen Party, Tax Reduction League, Citizen's Non-Partisan Party, and the Labor Susion Part candidates, they carried incumbent Democrat John P. Nugent and political newcomer Adam Clayton Powell Jr. into office. Counts was not in the top five.[34] Counts felt badly about the loss and it was far too early to imagine how later in life he could add to his reputation as raconteur by telling of his political race with the colorful preacher of the Abyssinian Baptist Church. But Count's political activity continued.

In August, 1942 Counts was elected State Chairman of the American Labor Part after a factional fight. At this convention the ALP affirmed its political platform which had planks which promised:

1. Support for the war effort
2. Support for organized labor
3. Encouragement for an excess profits tax on industries involved in war production
4. Insistence that labor be represented on all war boards
5. More war contracts for New York
6. Greater consumer protections
7. Fair pricing of milk
8. State wide ceilings on rent
9. Municipal construction of power plants
10. Promotion of a St. Lawrence power and seaway project
11. Extension of Social Security to farm workers and domestics
12. Educational programs for unemployed
13. State health insurance
14. State program to combat venereal disease
15. Enforcement of child labor laws
16. Increased protection for women workers
17. State civilian defense measures
18. Preservation of civil liberties
19. No cuts in school spending
20. Opposition to the sales tax
21. Greater inheritance and corporation taxes
22. Farmer cooperative
23. Re-apportionment of the State Legislature
24. Post war planning[35]

Counts continued on as party chairman for several continuous terms. The already fragile relations between the left and right wings was getting worse, though, despite Counts' efforts at conciliation. When in 1943 Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and several others suspected of Communist Part affiliation joined the ALP, the rift grew.[36] Counts and his compatriots feared that the Communists were engineering a take-over of the ALP as in fact the *Daily Worker* bragged of doing.[37] In 1944 the American Labor Party split in half with Counts, John Childs, Alex Rose, David Dubinsky, A. A. Berle, Harry Uviller, and Matthew Levy leading the exodus from the old party and taking the initiative to form a new party — The American Liberal Party.

Counts was active in the new party from its inception. In 1946 he succeeded John Childs as state party chairman and stood as the Liberal Party candidate for Lt. Governor. It had been the policy of both the old ALP and was now the policy of the new Liberal Party to avoid running directly for public office except at the local level. This policy was adopted out of the realization that low party coffers and registered party membership made election unlikely. But a third party could throw its weight in close elections to create victory or defeat. The price of doing this was the extraction of promises from the major party candidates as to appointments, plank adoptions, or at least easy access to a ready ear. In

1944, though, the fledgling Liberal Party could get no one to listen so Counts filed for the Lt. Governorship. The predictable defeat again greeted the hapless candidate.

The American Labor Party continued to move to the left. In the national election of 1948 the ALP supported Henry Wallace for President of the United States. The Liberal Party supported Harry S. Truman, the regular Democratic candidate. When the tallies were counted the results showed that the ALP had mustered 509,559 votes for Wallace while the Liberal Party had garnered only 222,562 for Truman. The ALP was twice as powerful as the Liberal Party and caused Thomas Dewey to carry his native state by a 60,000 vote plurality.[38]

The highlight of George S. Counts' political career came in August of 1952 when the Liberal Party nominated him to run for the Senate of the United States. Choosing a candidate just two months before the election is never a very good idea. What had happened was that the Democratic Party had selected John Cashmore to head its ticket in the effort to unseat the incumbent Senator Irving M. Ives. The Liberals not only disliked Cashmore they knew that he didn't have a chance of winning. All summer long Counts and the other leaders of the Liberal Party had tried to convince Cashmore to withdraw in favor of Averill Harriman who the liberals thought would be able to unseat Ives. Cashmore, however, remained intransigent. In August, therefore, the Liberal Party broke its traditional support of the Democratic Party and ran its own candidate.[39]

The slate for United States Senator from New York in the year 1952 was as follows, one regular Democratic candidate named John Cashmore from Brooklyn who was Borough President, one candidate from the American Labor Party named Corliss Lamont — the philosopher, one George Sylvester Counts of the Liberal Party, and the regular Republican candidate, Irving M. Ives. None of the former could touch the latter.

Ives was himself an academic, having been the dean of the New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations at Cornell University. He had earned an excellent reputation in the areas of civil rights and welfare as a member of the state assembly and had demonstrated his vote getting power with a stunning defeat over Governor Herbert H. Lehman in 1946 when he earned his first term as senator. He was a LaGuardian Republican who could hold his own in the borough wards of New York City and carry upstate in his backpocket. Counts, however, proceded undeterred with his campaign and spent the two months talking with anyone who would listen.

When the votes were counted that November of 1952 the results showed:

Borough	Ives	Cashmore	Counts
Manhatten	303,640	322,157	88,797
Bronx	233,548	277,506	101,014
Brooklyn	398,498	522,751	147,370
Queens	429,225	265,812	62,558
Richmond	51,939	28,742	2,044
City Totals	1,416,250	1,416,968	401,783
Upstate	2,399,770	1,099,842	52,259
Totals	3,816,020	2,516,810	454,042

[40]

Corliss Lamont had received a total of 97,335 votes.[41]

On that same day, Adolf A. Berle penned the following into his diary:

"November 5, 1952

I listened to the election returns at the Liberal Party headquarters with David Dubinsky; it was almost twenty years since I had watched the beginning of the era with Frank Roosevelt.

Now we have a new one beginning. General Eisenhower as nearly as I can find out will try to govern with the help of the more intelligent side of American big business; he will quite soon find himself at odds with the extremist element in his own party. Politics is a tragic business at best.

A tiny detail in the general picture but of interest locally is the fact that the Liberal Party, casting about 460,000 votes for George Counts and more than 400,000 in New York City, becomes now a clear major factor in city affairs, so we shall have to go to work on a city ticket almost at once."[42]

The Liberal Party did go on but without George Counts. As his retirement from Teachers College came in the mid-fifties, Counts also retired from his political activism. As a political candidate he had a perfect record — he never won. As a voter his record wasn't much better. In his *Humble Autobiography* he says he voted for Theodore Roosevelt in 1912; Woodrow Wilson in 1916; James Cox in 1920; Robert LaFollette in 1924; Alfred E. Smith in 1928; and Norman Thomas in 1932.[43] This preference for three Democrats, one Progressive, one Bull Moose, and one Socialist hardly represents an inflexible political ideology. It also represents a voter who lost five out of six times. Only when he started voting the regular Democratic national ticket in 1936 did his voting average improve. After the Presidential election of 1972 Counts had seven winners and nine losers.

Counts had grown to love politics. Yet metaphorical "smoke filled rooms" held no appeal for him and the lust for power never seized him. What he saw was the inseparable link between politics, economics, and culture. He thought that the political arena was America's showcase and that the blessings of liberty and freedom were not merely maxims encased along with our Constitution in the National Archives but real and lively concepts best suited to daily use and political testing. Counts saw and participated in that which too many of us merely see.

FOOTNOTES

1 George S. Counts, "Humble Autobiography," *Leaders in Education: Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, Robert Havighurst, ed. (Chicago: N.S.S.E., 1971), p.170.

2 "Dubinsky, David," *Current Biography*, Charles Moritz, ed. (New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1961), p.p.

3 *Ibid.*

4 "Rose, Alex," *Current Biography*, Charles Moritz, ed. (New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1959), pp. 394-396.

5 *Ibid.*

6 *Ibid.*

7 "Levy, Matthew," obituary in *New York Times* (September 5, 1971), p. 41.

8 *Ibid.*

9 "Uviller, Harry," obituary in *New York Times* (November 10, 1973), p. 34.

10 *Ibid.*

11 "Berle, Adolf A.," *Current Biography*, Charles Moritz, ed. (New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1961), pp. 48-50.

12 *New York Times*, August 12, 1931, p. 5.

13 *New York Times*, July 8, 1932, p. 20.

14 *Ibid.*

15 *New York Times*, September 28, 1932, p. 21.

16 *New York Times*, May 13, 1933, p. 15.

17 *New York Times*, May 13, 1933, p. 15.

18 *New York Times*, September 17, 1934, p. 19.

19 *New York Times*, December 24, 1934, p. 2.

20 *New York Times*, September 12, 1935, p. 27.

21 *New York Times*, November 30, 1935, p. 18.

22 *New York Times*, February 24, 1936, p.5.

23 *New York Times*, February 25, 1937, p. 22.

24 *New York Times*, October 30, 1937, p. 21.

25 *New York Times*, October 26, 1938, p. 12.

26 Murray S. Stedman Jr. and Susan Stedman, *Discontent at the Polls: A Study of Farmer and Labor Parties, 1827-1948*, New York: Russell and Russell, 1950, p. 118.

[27] *Ibid.*

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 119.

[29] *Ibid.*

[30] *New York Times*, November 1, 1941, p. 13.

[31] *New York Times*, November 2, 1941, p. 41.

[32] *Ibid.*

[33] *Ibid.*

[34] *New York Times*, November 7, 1941, p. 16.

[35] *New York Times*, August 23, 1942, p. 37.

[36] *New York Times*, July 19, 1943, p. 8.

[37] *Ibid.*

[38] Stedman and Stedman, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

[39] *New York Times*, September 6, 1952, p. 4.

[40] *New York Times*, November 5, 1952, p. 1.

[41] *Ibid.*

[42] Beatrice B. Berle and Travis B. Beal, *Navigating the Rapids, 1918-1971: From the Papers of Adolf A. Berle*, New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, Inc., 1973, p. 613.

[43] "Humble Autobiography," *op cit*, pp. 165-166.

George S. Counts as an Interpreter of Soviet Education

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George S. Counts (1889-1974) had a long and distinguished career as an educational theorist. Many textbooks in American educational history refer to him as the author of the dramatic question — "Dare the School Build a New Social Order?"[1] He was the man who made a decided impact on American education as a professor at Teachers College of Columbia, as President of the American Federation of Teachers, and as a leader of New York's Liberal Party. In addition to being a scholar and critic of American education, George Counts also had a life long interest in Soviet culture and education.

Counts' first book on the Soviet Union was an anecedotal description of his travels by automobile which he titled, *A Ford Crosses Soviet Russia*, in 1930. This was followed by his more systematic academic study, *The Soviet Challenge to America*, in 1931. In 1943, he and John Childs wrote *America, Russia and the Communist Party in the Postwar World*. 1974 saw the publication of *I Want to Be Like Stalin*, written with Nucia Lodge, which was a translation of a leading Soviet pedogogical text. By 1949, Counts had become a severe critic of Soviet mind control which he condemned in *The Country of the Blind*, written with Nucia Lodge. His most comprehensive and mature treatment of Soviet education was *The Challenge of Soviet Education* in 1957.[2]

In the span of twenty-seven years from 1930 to 1957, Counts' views of the Soviet Union experienced a profound transformation. It should be stated at the onset that in many respects the transformation of Counts' interpretations of the Soviet Union reflected the changing milieu of Soviet-American relationships. This paper will offer a few preliminary and tentative comments on the transformation of George Counts from a friendly and curious visitor, to a scholar impressed by Soviet planning and modernization, to a critic who came to see the Soviet regime as a powerful and sinister threat to human freedom. In many respects, Counts' changing attitudes to the Soviet Union paralleled the shifting opinions of many other mainstream American liberals. To illustrate Counts' changing opinions, I will rely heavily on his two major books that have the word "challenge" in their titles: *The Soviet Challenge to America* (1931) and *The Challenge of Soviet Education* (1957). The challenge which Counts described was based on the Soviet attitude, conditioned by Marxist-Leninism, that history's inevitable course involved a coming clash between the Communist and capitalist nations. In 1931, the Soviets defined this challenge to be the task of overtaking and surpassing the industrial and technological development of the capitalist countries, particularly the United States. By 1957, Counts interpreted the challenge to be a world-wide threat by the Soviet Union to human freedom and to western representative institutions.

Counts' *Soviet Challenge to America*, in 1931, was written against the background of the great economic depression of the 1930's. Like many other liberal intellectuals and pragmatic-progressive educators, Counts had endorsed social planning as a means of solving the national economic crisis. His works on American education during the 1930s such as "Dare Progressive Education Be Progressive?," *Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?*, *The Social Foundations of Education*, and *The Prospects of the American Democracy* identified the absence of social planning as a major cause of social and economic crisis and urged that American government, society, and education embark on a program and process of comprehensive social planning.[3] In this light, Counts saw the Soviet Union as a nation that had committed itself deliberately to thorough-going social planning for the purpose of modernizing a large but backward nation. In his foreward to *The Soviet Challenge*, Counts commented on the American inability to plan its way out of the depression:

> The economic depression which ... continues to hold the entire Western world in its grip, depriving millions of men of employment and bringing misery to vast populations, has revealed weaknesses in the contemporary industrial order and has turned the minds of economists and statesmen everywhere to the question of social planning. Although we in America at least possess a mastery over the forces of production which should enable us to satisfy all of our material wants with ease, multitudes go hungry and experience all the terrors and humiliations of profound physical insecurity. This is tragedy; not because men have not suffered before, but because they now suffer so needlessly. The dreams of mankind through the ages now are at last capable of realization, but our present economic, educational, and political leadership has thus failed to rise to the opportunity created by science and technology. A general condition of uncoordination paralyzes the economic system and dissipates its matchless energies.[4]

After criticizing the western and American inability to establish planning mechanisms and procedures, Counts — then — turned to his subject and wrote:

> The world today is full of social experimentation. There is one experiment, however, that dwarfs all others — so bold indeed in its ideals and its programs that few can contemplate it without emotion. Because of the clouds of passion which still envelop it there is a serious danger that its most revolutionary, though less sensational, features may escape adequate notice. Soviet Russia is endeavoring with all the resources at her command to bring the economic order under a measure of rational control. She may fail in the attempt, but in the meantime every student of human affairs should follow the effort with breathless interest. She issues to the Western nations and particularly to the United States a challenge — perhaps one of the greatest challenges of history. But she issues it not through the Communist International, nor through the Red Army, nor through the Gay-Pay-OO (political police), as most of our citizens naively and timorously believe, but through her State Planning Commission and her system of public education.[5]

When Counts' book appeared, the Soviet Union was in the midst of its First Five Year Plan which had been launched in 1929. Counts identified the central aims of the Plan as being (1) the rapid industrialization of the Soviet Union and (2) the radical socialistic reconstruction of its agriculture. The Soviet planning process, as he saw it, involved widespread popular discussion as ideas flowed back and forth through the various groups, unions, and agencies of the country. The planning process involved two major groups: one, the specialists and technicians such as economists, engineers, educators and planning experts who developed the economic, technical, and scientific components of the plan; two, Party members, government officials, and representatives of the masses who scrutinized the plan from political and ideological perspectives. Finally, the State Planning Commission developed a general plan, in which the various Commissariats for Agriculture, Transport, Posts and Telegraphs, Labor, Trade, and Commerce, Finance, and Education developed detailed programs for implementing the plan. Focusing on the planning process, Counts commented again and again on the interrelationships that existed between Soviet planning and Soviet education:

> One of the most striking features of the Soviet state is the relation of the Planning Commission to the system of public education. Indeed, this relationship may determine the fate of the revolutionary movement. Since the educational institutions constitute the chief instruments through which the great plans are to be transmuted into the fabric of society, the connection between these two parts of the social structure is very intimate.[6]

Counts' comments on the close involvement of Soviet educators in the planning process and in the socialization of the country occured in the same period in which he attacked American educators for their detachment from and their neutrality on pressing social, economic, and political problems.

In his work of 1931, Counts identified the five controlling concepts that were foundational to Soviet society. These were: Dialectical materialism as conceived by Marx and elaborated by Lenin; collectivism which emphasized proletarian socio-political unity and economic integration; equality of the various nationalities of the Soviet Union; equality of the sexes; and industrialism. According to Counts, these five concepts provided a notion of the ideological limits which defined Soviet society and also identified the goals to which revolutionary forces were tending.

Along with the five controlling concepts, Counts also identified the major institutional elements or arrangements that had been created to build the new society and to maintain the revolutionary spirit and discipline. These were the dictatorship of the proletariat as organized in the Communist Party, the Soviet Government, the trade and professional unions, and the police and Red Army. As of the early 1930s, Counts had not yet reached a conception of Soviet society which was that of the monolithic control by the Central Committee of the Communist Party that characterized his interpretations of the late 1940s and 1950s. His

interpretations of the 1930s which saw power existing in a more diffuse way may have been influenced by several factors. He undoubtedly overestimated the power of the industrial unions or may have confused them with western trade unions when he wrote:

> Even the Party must cultivate assiduously the good-will of the industrial unions. The workers have been told so often that they rule the country that they accept the statement as axiomatic. They consequently participated in the making of the plan and feel a genuine responsibility for its success.[7]

In the early 1930s, power was not as tightly organized nor as concentrated as it was in the later Stalinist years. Also, Counts' views of the Soviet Union may have been more impressionistic and based on immediate reactions produced by his travels through the country. They may not have been the product of the more detached and critical scholarship that characterized his later writing on the Soviet Union.

In his book of 1931, Counts also misread the personality and growing power of Stalin. Although the Stalinist cult of personality was in its early stages, the signs of the personal dictatorship were present. Counts wrote:

> During the past year or two the Western press, in describing and explaining events in the Union, has referred daily to the dictatorship of Joseph Stalin. While this is no doubt a convenient and picturesque method of reporting and while it does bear a semblance of truth, it fails to do justice to the facts. There is most certainly a dictatorship in Soviet Russia today, but it is not a personal dictatorship; it is not a dictatorship of any one man or of any small group of men; it is a dictatorship of the Communist Party. This organization is not a mere mechanism in the hands of an autocrat; on the contrary it is an organism throbbing with life in every one of its thousands of separate cells. In these small constituent units, which live within the larger units of society, every important question of policy is thoroughly examined. Out of the disputes, discussions and deliberations of little groups of Communists scattered throughout the country, influenced of course by local conditions and by all of the forces at work in the life of the people, there gradually emerges a mass opinion or judgment known as the Party line. Although the direction which this line takes may be powerfully affected by such personalities as Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin and others, it is not fashioned by them. Hard, adamant, and inflexible at a given moment, it is a product of the collective mind and may alter its course at any time. To its mandates even Stalin must yield, if he would not be destroyed, as Lenin did before him. And the dictatorship of the Party would presumably survive the death of any individual.[8]

By the time that Counts' comprehensive work, *The Challenge of Soviet Education*, appeared in 1957, both Counts and American attitudes to the Soviet Union had undergone change. The temporary alliance between German Nazis and the Soviets in the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact of 1939 had dismayed many liberals. Counts had waged a vigorous struggle against the American Communists for control of the American Federation of Teachers in the period from 1939 to 1941. Counts and his

friends in the trade unions had left the American Labor Party to organize the Liberal Party in New York. Winston Churchill's phrase, "an iron curtain," had become common parlance. A bi-polar world had been created in which most of the world's nations were aligned into either Communist or anit-Communist blocs. And, the United States had experienced the political phenomenon known as McCarthyism.

By the late 1950s, Counts was recognized as one of the elder statesmen of American education. While still remembered as the radical of the depression days of *Dare the School Build a New Social Order?*, he was also the author of *Education and American Civilization,* in 1952, which took a view of American education that was broad, humane, and optimistic. His interpretations of Soviet education in the 1950s showed that Counts was clearly a different person. Unable to study Soviet education first hand, he was no longer relying on the direct impressions that had characterized his early writing on the Soviet Union. He had become a student of Russian culture, literature, and history, and these studies gave him a greater insight and perspective than the work of the early 1930s revealed.

For the Counts of the 1950s, the Soviet experience was not as unique as he once thought it to be. He now recognized greater continuities between Tsarist autocracy and Soviet totalitarianism. Increasingly, he saw Soviet culture and education in bold ideological terms. The ideology that ruled the Soviet Union and its educational institutions was best expressed by the term "Bolshevism" which put Marx's doctrines into a form that was heavily influenced by the Russian past.

In 1957, Counts identified four major foundational sources of Soviet education: (1) the doctrines of Karl Marx; (2) the practices of Tsarist autocracy; (3) a body of liberal and humanistic ideas that had developed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; and (4) Revolutionary Absolutism or Revolutionary Machiavellism." While each of these four sources had an impact on Soviet education Counts believed that the tradition of "revolutionary absolutism or revolutionary Machiavellism" was the key to understanding Soviet education.[9] Developing in the mid-nineteenth century, Revolutionary Machiavellism stressed revolution by a tightly organized and disciplined minority of intellectuals, committed to a utopian vision of the ideal society. It was Lenin's adherance to this concept that gave Bolshevism its particular character.

Revolutionary Absolutism stemmed from the thought, writings, and activities of such men as Peter Zaichnevsky (1842-1896), Peter N. Tkachev (1844-1886), and Sergei Nechaiev (1847-1883). These revolutionary theorists operated in a framework that called for the violent overthrow of the autocracy, the seizure of power by a militant minority, and the establishment of a ruthless dictatorship. The association of revolutionary absolutism was modeled after an army in which the higher ranks were to be fully initiated, the middle partially initiated, and the bottom layers of society committed to unquestioned obedience. This army whose membership was secret, was to follow a conspiratorial mode of operations.

From the standpoint of educational foundations, Counts saw Tkachev as exerting a special influence on Lenin and on Bolshevism. Tkachev's conception of the principle of revolutionary "jumps" was central to Bolshevism. An anti-Marxist concept that was similar to facism's glorification of the will, Tkachev's theory of revolutionary "jumps" argued that all societies were not determined historically to pass through the same developmental stages. Because of special conditions, Russia might "jump" from feudalism to socialism without passing through the capitalistic stage. Since Russian Tsarism was feeble and decadent, it could be overthrown by a resolute and disciplined minority. The theorists of revolutionary absolutism rejected gradual and peaceful reform by education, enlightenment, and liberal toleration. For example, Tkachev's appeal of 1862 called for a "bloody and merciless revolution" in which a "river of blood" would be shed and in which innocent victims would perish.[10]

Whereas in 1931, Counts had tended to see educational policy in the Soviet Union developed through extensive discussion and debate in the various cells, local organizations, and committees of the Communist Party, his perception in the 1950s stressed the conspiratorial nature of a Revolutionary Machiavellism in Soviet policy formulation and implementation. According to Counts:

> In the thought of Tkachev we may see the essential spirit of Soviet education — the employment of all educational institutions and processes for the building of an ideal society and the transformation of human nature under the ever watchful and ruthless direction of a "morally and intellectually developed" revolutionary minority — the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.[11]

As he wrote in 1957, Counts also commented that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was "not a political party . . . in the sense in which the term is employed in the free societies." In its "organization and function," it is a "kind of political army designed to rule the Soviet Union, build a Communist order, and direct the course of a world-wide movement to overthrow the system of capitalism everywhere."[12]

For Counts, Soviet Communism had an international and messianic revolutionary vision. Lenin and his fellow Bolsheviks saw their revolution as a continuing one which was to spread triumphantly from Russia to all countries and which was to carry their system of society, ideology, and morals throughout the world. Counts commented:

> Only the more gullible leaders of the free world will assume in the absence of deeds that the struggle will now and in the future take on the character of a peaceful and friendly competition. The fact should not be forgotten that the Central Committee, as it repudiates Stalin, places Lenin and all his works on a still higher pedastal. The "cult of personality arrives."[13]

When one compares *The Soviet Challenge to America*, written in 1931, with *The Challenge of Soviet Education* in 1957, it is clear that Counts' attitudes to the Soviet Union and its system of education had

changed. In 1931, Counts wrote from a position that was not unsympathetic to the social and economic changes that were taking place in the Soviet Union. He was impressed by the way in which the Soviet population and the agencies of the state had been mobilized to achieve the goals of the First Five Year Plan. He tended to see the Soviet people as responsive to the Communist leadership and also saw the Communist Party as being responsive to the popular will. In many respects, his affirmative response to Soviet social planning paralleled the ideas that he expressed in his works on American education that called for social planning and for an education that encouraged a planning mentality.

At the time of his early studies of Soviet education, it is possible that Counts' scholarship lacked maturity. On his visits to the Soviet Union, he was influenced by the visible impressions of the industrial transformation that was taking place in the Soviet Union. He emphasized and never denied that the Soviet Union was going to become one of the leading powers of the world. He credited the Soviet leadership with transforming Russia from an industrially backward nation — with a high degree of illiteracy — into a literate and technologically advanced nation. Like many American liberals of the early 1930s, he was optimistic that the Soviet Union might yet become an example of a humane planning society that was co-ordinating its efforts to progress.

Some twenty-six years later in 1957, Counts was a different man and the Soviet Union was a different nation. Counts was now doing his analysis of Soviet education from a distance and had become more of a student of Russian history. He now recognized greater continuities in the Russian historical experience and saw more parallels between Tsarist autocracy and Soviet dictatorship. His examination of the ideological nature of Soviet education came to focus increasingly on the conspiratorial nature of Bolshevism as developed by Lenin and Stalin. The Communist Party, Counts wrote, was following a general policy of Machiavellian absolutism. While it directed the entire course of events in the Soviet Union, it did so rigidly and with little popular involvement.

In some respects, Counts' views of the Soviet Union were those common to many American liberals and progressives. First, they saw the Soviet experiment as a distinct break with the reactionary Russian past which in time might become humanitarian and popularly directed. Second, Counts and many other liberals became disenchanted with the emergence of Soviet totalitarianism and with the shifts in Soviet foreign policy that did violence to liberal aspirations. Third, Counts became a determined opponent of Soviet ideology and went into an opposition that made him a "Cold War" warrior.

Footnotes

[1] George S. Counts, *Dare the School Build a New Social Order?* (New York: John Day Co., 1932).

[2] Counts' major works dealing with Soviet culture and education were: *A Ford Crosses Soviet Russia* (Boston: Stratford Co., 1930); *The Soviet Challenge to America* (New York: John Day Co., 1931); with John Childs, *America, Russia and the Communist Party in the Postwar World* (New York: John Day Co., 1943); with Nucia Lodge, *I Want to be Like Stalin* (New York: John Day Co., 1947); with Nucia Lodge, *The Country of the Blind* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1949); *The Challenge of Soviet Education* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1957); *Kruschev and the Central Committee Speak on Education* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1959).

[3] Counts, "Dare Progressive Education Be Progressive?" *Progressive Education*, 9, (1932),257-263; *The Social Foundations of Education* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934); *The Prospects of American Democracy* (New York: John Day Co., 1938).

[4] Counts, *Soviet Challenge*, p. ix.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. ix-x.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 141-146.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 42.

[9] Counts, *Challenge of Soviet Education*, p. 24.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 27.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 42.

The Popular Ideology of Segregated Schooling: Attitudes Toward the Education of Blacks in Kansas, 1854-1900

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A number of recent books, monographs, and essays have explored the educational aspirations and experiences of black Americans. The vast majority of these studies focus on the education of blacks in either the northern urban areas or the South.[1] They have suggested that the extent to which black Americans could exercise their faith in schooling was to a significant extent determined by the attitudes of the white majority.

But what of the educational experience of blacks in other regions of the country? This essay explores the grass-roots attitudes toward the schooling of black Americans in Kansas, a Great Plains state which throughout the nineteenth century prided itself as a political entity dedicated to the principles of freedom and justice.

The "race problem" and its inevitable manifestation in the educational enterprise was rather insignificant in areas where the number of blacks was small. Such was the case in Kansas prior to the Civil War. Although there were blacks present in the territorial period, they were very few in number. In 1855 there were only 151 free blacks and 192 slaves. At the outbreak of intersectional strife free blacks numbered only 625 and there were two slaves.[2] The war, however, brought about a change in the size of the black community in the state. By the mid-1860's refugees from the South began to stream into Kansas, and in the 1870's immigration reached near flood proportions. Between 1860 and 1870 the state's black population jumped from 627 to 17,108. By 1880 the figure had grown to 43,107, and by 1890 to 49,710.[3]

Some type of schooling for black children was accepted by the vast majority of white Kansans throughout the nineteenth century. Only a handful of citizens voiced opposition to the idea of educating them. In the early 1860's most Kansans seemed satisified with privately financed evening schools, freedmen's schools, or contraband schools as a means of educating what few blacks there were in the state. However, concomitant with the increase in the black population between the mid-1860's and the early 1880's was a growing popular concern with the problem of race, particularly as it was focused in the public schools. Charity schools simply could not bear the burden of the increasing number of black students. The public schools would have to assume the responsibility for educating them.

Together with religion in the schools, the most widely discussed issue in the history of education in nineteenth century Kansas was how blacks would benefit from the state's growing commitment to public education. As had been the case in other parts of the nation, educational

opportunity for blacks in Kansas was determined by the convictions of the white majority. Despite the protestations of blacks and some whites, particularly in the 1870's, black children were usually assigned to separate and for the most part substandard educational facilities. In Kansas, a state characterized by the rhetoric of freedom and equality, black students were seldom part of what historian David B. Tyack has called the "ideal of common learning under the common roof of the common school."[4] Though the belief that blacks should be educated in some fashion was widespread and the ideal of the common school advocated loudly, popular unwillingness to transcend racial distinctions limited black educational opportunities in Kansas. Race animus eventually contributed to black acceptance of segregated education, a circumstance which they naively hoped would be temporary.

Unlike some parts of the country, particularly in the South, Kansans gave scant attention to the question of whether or not blacks should be educated at all; most white Kansans believed they should receive some schooling.[5] The rationale for educating blacks was a familiar one. Viewing blacks as a potential hazard to the general welfare, some Kansans argued that schooling them would insure public safety. Others believed that education could elevate blacks to the dignity of manhood and mold them into good and useful citizens. In an editorial decrying "war on the Negro," William Blakely, editor of the *Smoky Hill and Republican Union*, emphasized this theme. "We want the School ... thrown open to the Negro," he averred, "we want nothing forbidden him that will elevate him in the scale of humanity."[6] Writing to the *Leavenworth Conservative*, Lewis Overton also emphasized the need to "diffuse knowledge among the colored children" in order to lift them to a higher level of humanity.[7] In a letter to the *Wyandotte Gazette*, "C" offered a similar rationale for educating blacks. "We owe it to ourselves to give all aid and encouragement in our power to this work [education of black children]," he declared, "for in the proportion that blacks are enlightened will they become good and useful citizens."[8]

Arguments used frequently for compulsory schooling were also offered for the education of blacks. An unschooled person was often perceived as a potential threat to the public welfare. If he would not attend school voluntarily, then the state had the right and duty to compel attendance for its own self-protection. Considering the pervasive racism of the era, it is not surprising that uneducated blacks, more so than any other group, were believed to be a possible hazard to public safety. It was, therefore, imperative that they be "socialized" through schooling of some sort. D. W. Wilder, editor of the *Leavenworth Conservative*, stated succinctly this case for educating blacks. "A community cannot afford to allow any of its members to grow to maturity without education, and as a consequence, liable to fall into the vices and crimes which ignorance generates," he posited. "It is a measure of self-preservation to see that they [blacks] have opportunities for instruction ..."[9] In a similar fashion, Champion Vaughn of the *Leavenworth Times* argued that if blacks were allowed to "grow up in ignorance," then they would fill the "stationhouses and jails."[10] George T. Anthony shared Vaughn's sentiment. "There can be no honest disagreement as to the right of colored children to the spelling book and instruction. There is no reason to question the duty and necessity of educating every child in the state, regard-

less of color or condition," he told his readers. "Public safety and State power depend too directly upon educated masses to allow any portion of a people to grow up in ignorance."[11] Echoing Anthony, Milton Reynolds, editor of the education-conscious *Kansas State Journal*, maintained that "the freedmen must be educated . . . the safety of society demands this much . . ."[12]

Although most Kansans accepted, in some cases grudgingly, the principle that blacks should be educated in order to "civilize" them, a few citizens rejected the belief that they should receive any instruction in schools. This antagonism toward the education of blacks in any setting was expressed in several ways. In one instance, a teacher in Oskaloosa who started a "colored school" was threatened with bodily injury.[13] Writing to the *Brown County Sentinel*, an anonymous woman conveyed the same feeling in a more polite manner when she claimed that "it won't hurt them [blacks] if they never go to school."[14] At times this antagonism toward educating blacks was demonstrated in a violent fashion. For example, a correspondent from Pleasant Ridge, a community which failed to live up to its name, reported that "the school house intended for the colored is burned down . . . Dislike for the 'darkies' continues."[15]

Despite these occasional outbursts of hostility, black Kansans, like their counterparts elsewhere, zealously sought education. As one historian has noted, ". . . no other group in the United States had a greater faith in the equalizing power of schooling or a clearer understanding of the democratic promise of public education than did black Americans."[16] This unquestioning faith in the power of education was evident when the first State Mass Convention of the Colored People held at Leavenworth in 1869 resolved that "all adults, as well as children, use all means in their power to secure an education."[17]

To many blacks in Kansas, education was the basis for their hopes and dreams. Schooling was touted frequently as a prerequisite for participating in the American dream. "Let no man or woman stand and fold his or her arms and dream of life, liberty and enjoyment, without tendering a helping hand towards educating their race . . .," stated a correspondent to the *Colored Citizen*, one of the early black papers in the state.[18] speaking to the Colored State Convention of 1880, H. C. Bruce also argued that if blacks were to enjoy the fruits of the American experience, such as freedom and prosperity, then they needed to stress the education of the race. "No race of people can prosper in this country or any country who do not cherish and foster education," he asserted, "and no uneducated people have ever prospered permanently."[19]

A number of blacks also believed that education was one of the most important means of dealing with racial prejudice. Through schooling some blacks in Kansas, as well as elsewhere, hoped to break down the barriers of discrimination.[20] As the Freedmen's Aid Association of Dunlap declared, "Education of the heart, mind, and hand will remove prejudice."[21] In a letter to the *American Citizen*, Fred Scott, a citizen of Osage City, proclaimed this belief in the power of education to reduce discrimination. "Education is the mightiest weapon you can use to fight

your way through," he told his fellow blacks. "Nothing will free the colored race from all disabilities and cause their general recognition on an equal with whites so fast as education . . ."[22] S. A. Havey agreed with Scott's pronouncement. In a letter to the same newspaper, he wrote that "the breaking down of prejudice is the great end to be attained; money, education, and morality are the means by which this end must be accomplished."[23]

Whether the goal was economic improvement or the dissolution of racial prejudice, many black Kansans believed that education was one of the most important means of attaining it. Without adequate schooling they saw little hope for achieving full participation in the American experience. S. O. Clayton of the *Parsons Blade* summed up the faith blacks had in education when he proclaimed that "we must educate or we must perish."[24]

In the early 1860's the opportunities for exercising this faith were rather limited. Most blacks who received any formal instruction at all attended privately supported freedmen's schools, evening schools, or contraband schools. Due to the small number of blacks in the state at that time and what appeared to many Kansans to be their "degraded" condition, these schools seemed sufficient to most Kansans and the possibility of educating them in the public common schools was seldom mentioned.[25]

Charity schools such as those in Lawrence, Leavenworth, Osawatomie, Topeka, Wyandotte, and other eastern Kansas towns were praised universally as beneficial to all concerned. According to Hovey E. Lowman of the *Kansas State Journal*, the founding of an evening school for the "benefit of the colored people in this city" was an "excellent idea."[26] John Speer, editor of the *Lawrence Republican*, shared Lowman's sentiment and called the contraband school one of the "most praiseworthy institutions" in the city.[27] Speaking of the contraband schools in Lawrence and Osawatomie, John Francis of the *Olathe Mirror* declared that "we doubt whether charity was ever more wisely bestowed than in these instances."[28] In a similar vein, D. W. Wilder of the widely circulated *Leavenworth Conservative* urged his readers to support the newly organized freedmen's school and defended the right of blacks to an education. "This movement is worthy of the encouragement and pecuniary aid of our citizens, and we believe it will receive it from all but traitors," he observed. "Education is the right of blacks as well as whites, and every effort they make in this direction should gain our most cordial co-operation."[29] R. B. Taylor of the *Wyandotte Gazette* also encouraged his readers to support the local school for black children, calling it a "step in the right direction."[30]

Charity schools for blacks may have been a step in the right direction, but with the influx of freedmen in the mid-1860's their facilities were simply overwhelmed. Since privately supported and staffed schools would no longer suffice, the public schools would have to shoulder the burden. Amidst racial animosity which seemed to grow as the black population in the state increased, Kansans voiced their opinions on how blacks should benefit from the state's growing commitment to public education.[31]

Public discourse relative to the explosive issue of race and the schools in the latter half of the 1860's suggested that while most Kansans accepted the principle that blacks should receive some form of instruction, many citizens wanted no part of what was often called "mixed education." Separate education facilities would have to be provided for black students. The only major dissent from this belief came from the Kansas State Teachers Association. Meeting at Lawrence in July, 1866, the KSTA upheld the common school ideal and resolved that "we, as teachers, use our best endeavors to overcome the unreasonable prejudice existing in certain localities against the admission of colored children upon equal terms with white children . . ."[32]

Most Kansans, however, did not agree with the teachers' advocacy of admitting blacks and whites to the same school. Their distaste for integrated education, a practice which to many people implied the social equality of the race, was expressed in several ways. During a public school meeting in Olathe, the board of directors was advised to "have a separate school provided for the colored children should any apply for admittance into the free schools."[33] At Junction City, a community plagued with racial discord throughout most of the nineteenth century, citizens at a public meeting resolved that "we are in favor of educating the white children at a school separate from negroes and that any attempt . . . to compel our white children to associate with and become equals of negroes . . . will result disastrously to the interests of the school in this place . . ."[34]

If a separate school for black scholars could not be afforded, other strategies were employed to avoid "mixing" the races. For example, in response to public pressure, the school board in Burlingame designated one school term for blacks, the next for whites, and so on.[35] Stretching the race issue to an even more absurd length, the residents of Seneca instructed the school board to provide a separate room and teacher for the only two black students in the district![36] Such practices prompted Peter McVicar, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, to observe that "in some localities a very great prejudice against the co-education of the races still exists."[37]

Occasionally citizens revealed their attitudes toward integrated schooling in letters to local newspapers. In a lengthy letter to the *Council Grove Press*, G. M. Simcock, the owner of the local dry goods store and flour mill, objected to the possibility of having to send his children to the same school with black students. Conveying the feelings of many Kansans on the subject, he wrote:

> Now I would like to see harmony in our school . . .[but do not] feel disposed to send my children to school with negroes. I may have inherited this feeling by being born in Virginia and principally raised in Missouri; be that as it may, I did not inherit an exalted opinion of the institution of slavery, and am truly glad that we are rid of it. But I think I have seen enough of negroes to know that I cannot nor will treat them as my equal, and I know it unsafe for any community to elevate them too high. I am in favor of treating

them well, but not as well or better than our own race."[38]

Employing less temperate language, "Sylvan Retreat," a citizen of Vienna, inveighed against "race mixing" in the schools and "social equality" in a letter to the *Kansas Valley*. Claiming that whites had descended from a "superior race," he warned that any policy which might result in a nation of "mongrels" or "hybrids" was as "loathsome to God as to mankind."[39]

These beliefs which Kansans voiced in the latter part of the 1860's were reflected in a state law passed in 1868 and slated to take effect in 1869. According to the statute, school districts were responsible for the "education of white and colored children, separately or otherwise, securing to them equal educational advantages." With the passage of this law the state legislature reaffirmed earlier commitments to the doctrine of separate but equal education.[40]

Although this doctrine had been practiced in most parts of the state prior to 1869 without substantial dissent, a significant minority of Kansans protested the practice in the 1870's. As is the case with most reform movements, reasons for the protest were varied. While some Kansans objected to separate schools on moral grounds, others based their complaints on economic considerations.

In an effort to eradicate separate schools for black children, a number of Kansans questioned the morality of the practice. They pointed out that racial prejudice was inimical to the American way and the common school ideal. L. B. Kellogg, editor of the *Kansas Educational Journal*, argued against what he termed "the last relic of the senseless prejudice against color which has disgraced the American people." "Kansas has already taken the advanced position that colored children are entitled to as good educational advantages as white children," he maintained. "Let the State now say that they shall have the same educational advantages; that they shall be educated in the same school . . . Let the public schools be public . . ."[41] Following the same line of argument as Kellogg, John A. Martin of the *Atchison Champion* asserted that separate schools were not equal schools and recommended that the schools should be truly common to all. "There is no just reason why the colored children should be compelled to attend separate schools . . . Give the colored children equal school privileges with the whites, and a fair and equal chance in the battle of life," he told his readers. "Let the separate schools be abolished, and let us have one system, one school, for all children of the great human brotherhood."[42] Jacob Winter, a state senator from Leavenworth, agreed that separate schools did not provide equal educational opportunity. Speaking in favor of the 1874 Civil Rights Bill, a nearly unanimously supported statute which removed the word "white" from all Kansas laws but had little impact on educational policy, he charged that laws condoning separate educational facilities for blacks were designed to mollify those afflicted with "Negrophobia" and a distaste for the common school. "[These laws] are strictly class legislation by which the white population can always keep the colored population from rising in the scale of intelligence," he declared," and eject the colored children from the common school edifices, and thrust them into

dilapidated shanties."[43] Echoing Winter, Albert Griffin of Manhattan's *Nationalist* urged his readers to work against the "unreasoning prejudices" which prohibited "colored brethren and sisters" from obtaining an equal education.[44]

Some opponents of segregated schools employed economic arguments against the policy. Perhaps reacting to the economic crisis of the early 1870's, some Kansans asserted that maintaining separate schools for the races was an unjustifiable waste of money. F. P. Baker of the *Kansas State Record* believed that it was a "costly prejudice" which resulted in separate schools for white and black children.[45] Likewise, the editor of the *Leavenworth Commerical* maintained that it was simply "foolish" to spend money to build schools to accomodate a few black students.[46] George W. Martin of the *Junction City Union* shared this belief. After elaborating upon the cost of maintaining a separate school for blacks, he asked his readers if their prejudice was not costing more than it was worth.[47]

Organized black public opinion also played a significant role in the protest against separate but equal educational policies. Though blacks never comprised more than five percent of the population of Kansas at any time in the nineteenth century, their ardent pursuit of educational opportunity and desire to participate in society more than made up for their lack of numbers. This growing zeal was apparent throughout the 1870's as black organizations condemned separate and frequently inferior educational facilities. Typical of the protests was that of the State Convention of Colored Men which met at Lawrence in 1872 and demanded that the state repeal all laws "making distinction of race, nationality or color among its citizens in regard to among other things education."[48]

Several individuals also expressed their anger over the manner in which black children were treated in the public school system. After several black students were refused admittance to an all white school in Leavenworth, T. W. Henderson wrote a letter to the *Leavenworth Times* lamenting the oppression of blacks and asking when the white population would "throw aside their hatred of us black citizens, because of color, and give our children a chance."[49] In a letter to the *Colored Radical*, H. C. B., a citizen of Atchison, also expressed dissatisfaction with the way in which blacks were treated in the schools and identified one pernicious outcome of segregated schooling. "The effect of separate schools will be that the colored child must learn that the white child is either his superior or inferior," he stated, "... [and] that when they grow up to manhood they will not regard each other as men and fellow-citizens."[50]

The nascent black press joined the crusade against separate educational facilities for black students. Despite a constant struggle for survival in an environment that was sometimes less than friendly, black papers criticized the white majority for its insistence on segregated education. In a lengthy critique of education in Kansas, the editor of the *Colored Radical* noted that while there was a significant amount of discussion relative to "mixing the races" in the public schools, racial prej-

udice consigned most black children to separate and inferior schools. He maintained that the only way to vitiate such prejudice was to destroy the separate schools which perpetuated it.[51] In a later editorial, he urged his readers to petition the legislature to outlaw all "negro schools."[52] W. L. Eagleson, editor of the *Colored Citizen*, shared the sentiment of the editior of the *Radical*. He asserted that segregated schooling had to be abolished because "nothing now in existence in this State does help so much towards keeping up the low mean prejudice against the colored man as these separate schools . . ."[53] "Race difficulties will always exist in this country while race barriers are allowed to exist," he proclaimed in a later commentary. "We say down with every race institution in the land, and the sooner we learn that we are all Americans, the better for all concerned."[54]

Most white Kansans, however, did not subscribe to Eagleson's viewpoint. While they, like most white Americans, at least in the North, were willing to permit blacks a modicum of civil and political equality, social equality, an ideal inextricably intertwined with the American experience, was another matter.[55] Since integrated education smacked of the social equality of the races, the weight of public sentiment in the state during the 1870's, and for that matter throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century, supported separate schools for blacks and prohibited any widespread efforts to integrate the schools.[56] As one editor observed, separate schools for "Smoked Americans" seldom upset those who were "nervous on the subject of social equality."[57]

Indicative of the public's uneasiness with the concept of the social equality of the races, which was apparently implied by "mixed education," was the volume of letters to the local press objecting to the idea of integrating the schools. Writing to the *Leavenworth Commercial*, "X" objected to the efforts of "demented white men" to legislate "social equality." He claimed that the majority of Kansans were against allowing their children to "mingle together in the common schools . . . [with] the aromatic African."[58] In a letter to the same paper, Fanny West warned of the possible consequences of "mixing the races" in order to achieve equality. She proclaimed that it would lead to the "horrid practice of amalgamation" which would degrade the white race.[59] Similar racial thinking was evident in a letter from a subscriber to the *Nationalist*. He, like West, lamented that if whites were compelled to associate with blacks in the schools, whites would be mongrelized and eventually enslaved.[60]

The press also disapproved of attempts to elevate blacks to a level of social equality with whites by abolishing separate schools and adhering to the common school ideal. While papers which advocated integrated education were always Republican, Democratic as well as some Republican papers opposed the policy.

Perhaps one of the most detailed and blunt rejections of integrated schooling and the concept of social equality came from the staunchly Republican *Wathena Reporter*. Condemning the possibility of educating blacks and whites in the same school, the editor of the *Reporter* posited:

> This idea of social negro equality can never be engrafted in the American people. And why should it be? Has not the Maker of the universe placed an unmistakable mark on the two races, the nature of which is to forbid social alliances, and consequently social contact. The negro may be the superior of the two races, but admitting that he is, does not justify his amalgamating with the white. We have fought for, and advocated equal rights for every human being under this government, but we are not yet ready to array ourselves in antagonism to the immutable laws of nature.[61]

Complaining about what he called "African subjugation," T. W. Peacock, editor of the *Kansas Democrat*, also deprecated efforts to promote racial integration in the schools and elsewhere. He went on to urge his readers to resist any attempt to force white children to associate with "depraved blacks."[62] Nelson Abbott of the militantly anti-black *Atchison Patriot*, the self-proclaimed "Democratic Organ of Kansas," shared this racist sentiment. He objected to any "indiscriminate comingling of the African and Caucasian" and warned his readers that some people would not be satisfied until everything was "speckled."[63] Likewise, Sol Miller of the *Kansas Chief*, a Republican paper in Doniphan County, claimed that it would be wrong to attempt to "crush out the natural prejudice of the races" by sending black and white students to the same school.[64] In a similar fashion, U. F. Sargent of the Democratic *Fort Scott Pioneer* asserted that attempts to mix the races in the schools would violate the will of the majority and degrade the educational enterprise. "We don't want social equality" he continued, "but we want decent schools."[65]

While abhorrence of the notion of the social equality of the races served as the primary barrier to making the schools common to all, the concern that integration would damage, if not destroy, the public school also prohibited the achievement of the common school ideal. As was the case in other sections of the country throughout the nineteenth century, some Kansans based their opposition to integrated education on the assumption that if such a policy was followed, then the so-called better classes would withdraw from the public schools thus rendering them pauper-like institutions. To sacrifice the public schools for the benefit of a small group that was often perceived as degraded and powerless seemed unwise. As George F. Prescott of the *Leavenworth Commerical* maintained, "by the enforcement of obnoxious measures [mixing the races in the schools] will our public school system become practically a failure, and the good of the many be sacrificed to the narrow prejudices and selfish purposes of the few."[66] The editor of the *Atchison Patriot* agreed with this assessment claiming that "if races are mixed, the better classes will withdraw."[67] J. Clarke Swayze, the outspoken, and later assassinated, editor of the *Topeka Blade*, also warned of the possible result of actions designed to integrate the schools. "If the legislature undertakes to mix the public schools," he asserted, "we shall not be disappointed to see the excellent system now in operation in Kansas left to the negroes . . . while independent institutions . . . will educate the whites."[68]

Integrated education was occasionally condemned on the grounds that blacks would make better progress in separate schools. For instance, the editor of the *Troy Republican* argued that putting the two

classes together in school would cause the black children to suffer and "not half the good would be done than would be if left alone."[69] Writing to the *Saline County Journal*, D. B. Powers echoed this belief. He claimed that blacks were making the best progress in "separate schools, homogeneous in character, strict in discipline, and incensed by rivalry as a race, instead of individuals."[70]

The emotional and sometimes violent controversy concerning the education of blacks which raged throughout the 1870's resulted in only two significant legislative actions. In 1868 the state legislature had authorized school districts in first and second-class cities to maintain either separate or integrated educational facilities. Eight years later, for reasons not revealed in any public debates, the legislature recodified the Kansas school laws and omitted all references to separate schools. Separate schooling for blacks no longer enjoyed legal sanction. In 1879, however, the legislature again gave segregated education legal status. Responding to public sentiment, the heavily Republican legislature passed a measure allowing school boards in first-class cities (those with populations of at least 15,000) to operate separate elementary schools for black children. Segregated secondary schools were prohibited.[71] In other areas school boards were not permitted, at least legally, to maintain separate schools for blacks and whites. Although the statute sanctioned segregation in first-class cities where the vast majority of blacks resided, it left the door open for integrated education in other areas. Most black living outside first-class cities remained, however, in segregated schools as a result of community pressure, violence, and, occasionally, choice.

Between the passage of this bill and the turn of the century, the issue of the education of blacks received markedly less attention among white Kansans than it did in either the 1860's or the 1870's. When opinions were expressed on the matter of educating blacks they differed little from those of the 1970's. A number of factors, both state and national in nature, contributed to the slackening of public discourse on the question of integrating the schools and therefore making them truly common. Without doubt, the 1879 statute lessened the anxiety of many white Kansans about the possibility of having to send their children to school with blacks and consequently reduced their concern with the issue. The slowdown of black migration to Kansas in the early 1880's also contributed to the decline of public debate on the subject of race and the schools as fears of being overrun by what some called "hordes of degraded blacks" were calmed. Furthermore, interest in other issues such as prohibition and agrarian unrest probably steered public attention away from the race issue.[72]

On the national level, the two decades following the end of Reconstruction were characterized by a steady hardening of racial prejudice which was aided and abetted by racist Social Darwinism and imperialist ideology. What allies the blacks had in their struggle for freedom and equality dwindled in the face of increasing racial intolerance not only in the South but in many areas of the North.[73] This national phenomenon diminished popular concern for assimilating blacks into the social order by way of integrated schooling. Lastly, the *Civil Rights Cases* of 1883,

the well-known *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* case of 1896, and the *Cumming* v. *Richmond County Board of Education* case of 1899 not only mirrored the white majority's attitude toward the place blacks should have in the social order by providing national legal sanction to racial segregation, but also reduced public debate on the issue of integrated education. As one editor said of one of the 1883 *Civil Rights Cases*, "Doesn't it knock their case [for biracial schools] from under them, and leave them where they deserve to be [in segregated schools]?"[74]

Despite these obstacles, the black press in Kansas continued to campaign vigorously for the abolition of separate schools throughout the 1880's. As was the case in the 1870's, black editors believed that racially mixed schools would help break down the barriers of prejudice and result in equal educational opportunity.[75] By the 1890's, however, the crusade for integration weakened and separation was increasingly accepted, and at times advocated, by influential blacks.

Faced with increasing white intransigence on the matter of social equality in general and biracial education in particular, many blacks advocated a moderately separatist stance resembling that of Booker T. Washington, the most influential black leader of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. They advocated self-reliance and racial pride and accepted separate schools.[76] O. S. Fox of the *Afro-American Advocate* summarized this position when he said, "As a race let us support race enterprises. Educate the young, get prosperity, be economical and in this way the Race Problem may be successfully solved."[77]

Separation was not considered an end but rather a means by which blacks hoped to demonstrate to white society that they were industrious, reliable, and worthy of assimilation into the mainstream of American life. Illustrative of this hope that the conditions imposed on blacks by the white majority might be used to demonstrate their value to the society was a lengthy editorial by C. H. J. Taylor of the widely circulated *American Citizen*. He wrote:

> We have no confidence in the Negro, be he teacher, patron, or pupil who desires to always mix with white people. Let us not be misunderstood, we do not believe that ... mixed schools would necessarily injure the races, but we do contend that a people who have been doing business for themselves for centuries can with plausible reason object to a people less than thirty years old mixing with them. Again we do not believe it good sense for us to cry about it. Instead of becoming angry and declaring that we will do nothing unless allowed to mingle with white folks, we ought to accept their decision, which denies us admission [to their schools], and go to work to prove to them, beyond question, that they are losing something of worth by not being with us. We can do this if we will ...[78]

Echoing Taylor, W. M. Pope of the *Call* argued that blacks should not force themselves into "places where they are not wanted and are constantly subjected to humiliation." Instead he urged his readers to make the schools for blacks as good as possible in order to win the respect of the white majority.[79] S. O. Clayton of the *Parsons Blade* shared this belief and maintained that most blacks in Kansas felt the same way.[80]

Like George A. Dudley of the *American Citizen*, an increasing number of blacks were rejecting the traditional belief that "the education of the races together obliterates prejudice and renders it more easy for colored persons to obtain employment."[81] By rejecting the notion that integrated education would erase prejudice and provide economic opportunity, many blacks were coming to grips with the unwillingness of the white majority to transcend race while pursuing the common school ideal. They did not, however, abandon their faith in education. Blacks were as zealous for schooling in the 1890's as they had been in the 1870's when they and a small number of white Kansans spurred by a momentary idealism sought to make the schools common to both races. But as allies in the white community dwindled and racial intolerance hardened, blacks in Kansas and other parts of the country were left with little choice but to accept separate educational facilities and second-class citizenship. Many believed that the situation would be temporary. By demonstrating self-reliance, industriousness, and success in the schools set aside for them, blacks hoped to be accepted not only into the same school with other Americans but also the mainstream of American society.

For the majority of blacks in Kansas the situation was not temporary. It was not until the 1950's that separate and usually inferior schools began to be legally abolished.[82] Regardless of their efforts in the nineteenth century, and for that matter the first half of the twentieth, blacks were unable to realize their aspirations because in Selwyn Troen's words, "...the schools, although promising openness and equality, in fact closely mirrored the prejudices and limitations of the society they served and represented."[83] The attitudes of the majority of Kansans indeed not only stifled the blacks' zealous quest for full participation in the promise of the common school, but also contributed to the formation of an ideology of segregated schooling which remained influential well into the twentieth century.

Footnotes

1 Henry Allen Bullock, *A History of Negro Education in the South From 1619 to the Present* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967); Roger A. Fischer, *The Segregation Struggle in Louisiana, 1862-77* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1974); Vincent P. Franklin, "The Education of Minorities in Cities in the United States: Toward A Comparative Historical Perspective," paper presented at the History of Education Society Meeting, October 16, 1977, Toronto, Canada; Louis R. Harlan, *Separate and Unequal: Public School Campaigns and Racism in the Southern Seaboard States, 1901-1915* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1958); Leon F. Litwack, *North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790-1860* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), pp. 113-52; Stanley K. Schultz, *The Culture Factory: Boston Public Schools, 1789-1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 157-206; Selwyn K. Troen, *The Public and the Schools: Shaping the St. Louis System, 1838-1920* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1975), pp. 79-98; David B. Tyack, *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974), pp. 109-25; William Preston Vaughn, *Schools For All: The Blacks & Public Education in the South, 1865-1877* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1974).

[2] Robert W. Richmond, *Kansas: A Land of Contrasts* (Saint Charles, Missouri: Forum Press, 1974), pp. 162-66; William Frank Zornow, *Kansas: A History of the Jayhawk State* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957), pp. 186-87.

[3] For a detailed, though somewhat flawed, description of black migration to Kansas, see Nell Irvin Painter, *Exodusters: Black Migration to Kansas after Reconstruction* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976).

[4] Tyack, *The One Best System*, p. 110.

[5] Horace Mann Bond, *The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1934), *passim*; Bullock, *A History of Negro Education in the South*, pp. 42-44, 74-76; R. Freeman Butts and Lawrence A. Cremin, *A History of Education in American Culture* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1953), pp. 358-60; Harlan, *Separate and Unequal*, pp. 3-44.

[6] *Smoky Hill and Republican Union*, May 2, 1863.

[7] *Leavenworth Conservative*, July 22, 1863.

[8] *Wyandotte Gazette*, January 23, 1864; April 2, 1864.

[9] *Leavenworth Conservative*, February 7, 1863.

[10] *Leavenworth Times*, December 6, 1863.

[11] *Leavenworth Conservative*, May 3, 1868.

[12] *Kansas State Journal* (Lawrence), October 22, 1868.

[13] *Independent* (Oskaloosa), November 23, 1966.

[14] *Brown County Sentinel* (Hiawatha), March 25, 1869.

[15] *Leavenworth Times*, April 24, 1873.

[16] Tyack, *The One Best System*, p. 110.

[17] *Times and Conservative* (Leavenworth), January 28, 1869.

[18] *Colored Citizen* (Topeka), October 4, 1879.

[19] *Herald of Kansas* (Topeka), May 14, 1880.

[20] Rush Welter, *Popular Education and Democratic Thought in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962), pp. 141-59.

[21] *Kansas State Journal* (Topeka), February 16, 1882.

[22] *American Citizen* (Topeka and Kansas City), June 28, 1889.

[23] *Ibid.*, July 19, 1889.

[24] *Parsons Blade*, August 25, 1893.

[25] Although the first state legislature had provided for the establishment of separate schools for black children, most communities preferred to leave the education of blacks to charity schools.

[26] *Kansas State Journal* (Lawrence), December 19, 1861.

[27] *Lawrence Republican*, January 2, 1862.

[28] *Olathe Mirror*, January 16, 1862.

[29] *Leavenworth Conservative*, May 7, 1862.

[30] *Wyandotte Gazette*, June 6, 1863.

[31] Zornow, *Kansas*, p. 123.

[32] *Kansas Educational Journal* (Grasshopper Falls and Topeka), August, 1866.

[33] *Olathe Mirror*, August 3, 1865.

[34] *Junction City Union*, January 20, 1866.

[35] *Osage Chronicle* (Burlingame), November 3, 1866.

[36] *Leavenworth Conservative*, April 21, 1867.

[37] *Times and Conservative* (Leavenworth), March 21, 1869.

[38] *Council Grove Press*, September 22, 1865.

[39] *Kansas Valley* (Wamego), December 9, 1869.

[40] *Leavenworth Conservative*, June 7, 1868, p. 1. After the first state legislature provided for separate schools for blacks, subsequent legislatures limited the power to establish separate schools to first-class cities. In 1868, however, the legislature extended this power to second-class cities. Richard Kluger, *Simple Justice* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976), p. 371.

[41] *Kansas Educational Journal* (Emporia), p. 103.

[42] *Atchison Champion*, August 9, 1873.

[43] *Commonwealth* (Topeka), January 30, 1874.

[44] *Nationalist* (Manhattan), February 12, 1875.

[45] *Kansas State Record* (Topeka), September 13, 1871.

[46] *Leavenworth Commercial*, January 20, 1876.

[47] *Junction City Union*, March 25, 1876.

[48] *Kansas State Record* (Topeka), March 27, 1872.

[49] *Leavenworth Times*, February 7, 1876.

[50] *Colored Radical* (Leavenworth), September 28, 1876.

[51] *Ibid.*, August 24, 1876.

[52] *Ibid.*, November 18, 1876.

[53] *Colored Citizen* (Topeka), September 20, 1878.

[54] *Ibid.*, December 14, 1878.

[55] Henry Steele Commager, *The American Mind: An Interpretation of American Thought and Character Since the 1880's* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), pp. 13-30; Robert T. Handy, *A Christian America: Protestant Hopes and Historical Realities* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 70.

[56] There were integrated schools in several communities throughout the nineteenth century. In cities such as Emporia and Ottawa, black and white students attended the same school without major difficulties. In some small towns there were integrated schools because the community simply could not afford a separate school. In these areas racial strife was common. The vast majority of blacks were, however, educated in separate facilities.

[57] *Kansas State Record* (Topeka), January 5, 1870.

[58] *Leavenworth Commercial*, February 1, 1870.

[59] *Ibid.*, March 5, 1870.

[60] *Nationalist* (Manhattan), February 26, 1875. For letters expressing similar attitudes, see *Olathe Mirror*, June 6, 1872; *Nationalist* (Manhattan), March 5, 1875.

[61] Cited in *Topeka Blade*, October 8, 1873.

[62] *Kansas Democrat* (Independence), July 31, 1874.

[63] *Atchison Patriot*, February 6, 1875.

[64] *Kansas Chief* (Troy), March 9, 1876.

[65] *Fort Scott Pioneer*, September 27, 1877.

[66] *Leavenworth Commercial*, November 2, 1870.

[67] *Atchison Patriot*, April 25, 1874.

[68] *Topeka Blade*, December 7, 1876.

[69] Cited in *ibid.*, September 24, 1873.

[70] *Saline County Journal* (Salina), January 25, 1877.

[71] Kluger notes that the 1879 statute "remained unchanged until 1905, when Kansas City was allowed to open a separate high school for Negroes." Kluger, *Simple Justice*, pp. 371-72.

[72] Richmond, *Kansas*, pp. 162-63, 169-81; Zornow, *Kansas*, pp. 190-208.

[73] Ralph Henry Gabriel, *The Course of American Democratic Thought*, 2nd ed. (New York: Ronald Press, 1956), pp. 141-44; John A. Garraty, *The New Commonwealth, 1877-1890* (New York: Harper and Row, 1968), pp. 5-6; Rayford W. Logan, *The Negro in American Life and Thought: The Nadir, 1877-1901* (New York: The Dial Press, 1954), *passim*; August Meier, *Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1963), pp. 19-25; C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), pp. 67-109.

[74] *Independence Star*, October 19, 1883.

[75] For typical editorials on the matter, see *Herald of Kansas* (Topeka), April 9, 1880; *Leavenworth Advocate*, May 4, 1889.

[76] John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans*, 3rd ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967; Vintage Books, 1969), pp. 390-97; Meier, *Negro Thought in America*, pp. 55-56, 100-18.

[77] *Afro American Advocate* (Coffeyville), April 15, 1892.

[78] *American Citizen* (Kansas City), May 15, 1891. See also *ibid.*, August 7, 1891.

[79] *Call* (Topeka), October 18, 1891. See also *ibid.*, August 3, 1893.

[80] *Parsons Blade*, March 15, 1895.

[81] *American Citizen* (Kansas City), August 2, 1895.

[82] Franklin, *Up From Slavery*, pp. 549-57; Richmond, *Kansas*, pp. 297-98.

[83] Truen, *The Public and the Schools*, p. 98.

PART II
PROGRAM AND PROCEEDINGS

PROGRAM

Hosted By
The Midwest History of Education Society
October 27-29, 1978
Chicago, Illinois

Friday, October 27

1:00 p.m. Registration, Rosemary Donatelli, Loyola University

1:00 - 2:00 p.m. Meeting of the Board of Directors, History of Education Society

FIRST SESSION: SCOUTING - 2:00 - 4:00 p.m.

Presiding: Adelia Peters, Bowling Green State University

First Paper: David I. Macleod, Central Michigan State University
"Boyhood or Adolescent? The Rise of Scouting and other Boys' Work Agencies, 1890-1920"

Second Paper: May Aickin Rothschild, Arizona State University
"A Girl is to Guide: The Boy-Scout — Girl-Scout Controversy"

Comments: Adelia Peters, Bowling Green State University

SECOND SESSION: 19th CENTURY NORMAL SCHOOLS — 4:15 - 6:15 p.m.

Presiding: Robert Church, Northwestern University

First Paper: Jeff Wasserman, University of Wisconsin-Madison
"Wisconsin Normal Schools and the Educational Hierarchy, 1860-1890"

Second Paper: George E. Bates, Jr., Winona State University
"Minnesota Normal School Students, 1860-1900"

Comments: Allison Prentice, University of jtoronto

BUSINESS SESSION: The Issue of the Equal Rights Amendment and Future Meeting Sites of the Society will be central — 6:30 - 7:15 p.m.

Saturday, October 28

THIRD SESSION: METHODOLOGICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL BASES AND BIASES IN AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL HISTORIOGRAPHY — 8:15 - 10:15 a.m.

Moderator: Harvey J. Graff, University of Texas at Dallas

Participants:	Paul Mattingly, New York University David Hogan, University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana Robert L. Church, Northwestern University Detlef Miller, Universitat Bochum
FOURTH SESSION:	WOMEN'S HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE 19th CENTURY — RHETORIC AND REALITY — 10:30-12:30 p.m.
Moderator:	Harold Wechsler, University of Chicago
Panelists:	Mary Cookingham, University of California-Berkeley Lynn Gordon, University of Chicago Sally Schwager, Harvard University
FIFTH SESSION:	GEORGE S. COUNTS — 2:00-4:00 p.m.
Presiding:	JoAnn Boydston, Center for Dewey Studies, Southern Illionois University at Carbondale
First Paper:	Lawrence J. Dennis, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale "The Counts/Beard Correspondence"
Second Paper:	William E. Eaton, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale "The Political Life of George S. Counts"
Third Paper:	Gerald Gutek, Loyola University-Chicago "George S. Counts as an Interpreter of Soviet Culture and Education"
Comments:	JoAnn Boydston, Center for Dewey Studies, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale
PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS:	CLARENCE J. KARIER, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT CHAMPAIGN-URBANA — 4:15-5:30 p.m.
7:00 - 8:00 p.m.	COCKTAILS
8:00 - 10:00 p.m.	BANQUET:
Master of Ceremonies:	Peter DeBoer, Calvin College
Awards:	Ron Cohen Indiana University-Northwest

Sunday, October 29

SIXTH SESSION:	WORK AND EDUCATION IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE — 8:15-10:15 a.m.
Presiding:	Don T. Martin, University of Pittsburgh
First Paper:	Richard Altenbaugh, University of Pittsburgh "The Relationship of Work to Education in the American Labor College Movement During the 1920's and 1930's"
Second Paper:	Lana Muraskin, National Instiute of Education "The History of Federal Vocational Policy, 1917-1976: An Agenda for Future Research"

Third Paper: Wayne Urban, Georgia State University
"Hoke Smith and the Politics of Vocational Education"

Comments: Paul Violas, University of Illinos at Champaign-Urbana

SEVENTH SESSION: EDUCATIONAL STUDIES OF BLACK AMERICANS — 10:30 -12:30 p m.

Presiding: Ronald Cohen, University of Indiana-Northwest

First Paper: James C. Carper, Tulane University
"The Popular Ideology of Segregated Schools: Attitudes Toward the Education of Blacks in Kansas, 1854-1900"

Second Paper: Ron Goodenow, Trinity College, Hartford
"The Secondary School Study of the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes"

Comments: Ronal d Cohen, University of Indiana-Northwest

**MINUTES: 1978 ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING,
THE MIDWEST HISTORY OF EDUCATION SOCIETY,
PICK-CONGRESS HOTEL, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
FRIDAY, 28 OCTOBER, '78, 10:50 AM - 11:10 A.M.**

The Annual Business Meeting of The Midwest History of Education Society convened at 10:50 AM, 28 October, '78, Friday, in the Windsor Room of the Pick-Congress Hotel in Chicago, Illinois. The meeting was called to order by Society President Peter DeBoer.

The Minutes of the 1976 Annual Business Meeting were read by Society Secretary Charles M. Dye and were unanimously approved.

President DeBoer announced that the 1979 Annual Meeting of the Society would be held in Chicago over the last week in October at Loyola University of Chicago.

The following were nominated, seconded, and elected by acclamation to hold Society officer positions for 1979:

President: William E. Eaton, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale

Vice-President: Charles M. Dye, The University of Akron

Secretary: James C. Carper, Tulane University

It was moved, seconded, and unanimously passed that the Society extend its appreciation to Vice-President/Program Co-Chairman William Eaton for his efforts in securing this year's outstanding program, and in particular, his yeoman work in completing all arrangements with the Pick-Congress Hotel in preparation for the 1978 Joint Meeting with the History of Education Society.

It was moved, seconded, and unanimously passed that the Society extend its appreciation to Member Rosemary Donatelli and her graduate student assistants for their work at the registration table throughout the 1978 Annual Meeting.

The meeting was adjourned at 11:10 A.M.

Respectfully submitted,

Charles M. Dye, Secretary
The Midwest History of Education Society

ATTENDANCE AT THE OFFICIAL BANQUET

Jennings Wagoner
Edward Rutkowski
William Eaton
Richard Altenbaugh
Richard Daly
Carol Daly
Gerard A. Zam
Alison Prentice
Clarence Karier
Norma Karier
Paul Mattingly
M. M. Chambers
Geraldine Clifford
Harvey J. Graff
Adelia Peters
Robert E. A. P. Ritholz
Maurice Hodgen
Wayne J. Ruban
Charles Dye
Mrs. Dye
Jim Sanders
Stephen W. Sellers
David Adams
Mary Small
William Reese
Deanne Reese
Michael Katz
Janic Weiss
David MacLeod
Mrs. MacLeod
Gerald L. Flood
Robert Belding
Peter P. De Boer
Joy De Boer
David B. Ripley
Patricia Haines
Isaiah McIver
Ronald K. Goodenow
Ronald Cohen
Charles Biebel
Kathryn Moore
Jurgen Herbst
J. H. Best
Jeff Wasserman
Regina Wasserman
James Carper
Mrs. Carper
Donald Warren
Gailyn Casaday
Detlet Muller
R. F. Butts
Lawrence Dennis
Steven Sohlossman
Charlotte Kin Shea
Russell Marks
Lawrence B. Murphy
Rick Alterman
Leonidas A. Gibbs